EPILEPSY IN BABYLONIA

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PREFACE

This book intends to give a survey of how the Babylonians viewed and treated epilepsy. The most famous passage is a section in the Code of Hammurabi on epilepsy as a hidden defect in purchased slaves, but there is much more. One has to turn to the medical texts in order to get more specific information. Among these the Diagnostic Handbook is of prime importance: it gives the symptoms of many varieties of epilepsy and related ailments and adds a diagnosis and a prognosis. The diagnosis is "sheer magic" in that the Babylonians only recognized supernatural causes of disease, often named the "hand" of a god or demon. To the student of medicine this can be disappointing but even so a challenge to diagnose these symptoms by modern means. This is what J. V. Kinnier Wilson and F. H. Reynolds did in a recent article. I am not qualified to attempt such an undertaking and am happy that this job has been done already for Tablet XXVI. Another approach of ancient medicine is that of "ethnomedicine": non-Western cultures have their own categorizations of diseases and the cultural anthropologists try to make the underlying rules explicit. Although an amateur, I will try to follow this method in my own way — certainly too naive — by viewing epilepsy in the context of other diseases as seen by the Babylonians: the Diagnostic Handbook itself already puts one on this track. The attitudes of other ancient cultures of the Mediterranean world will be examined, hoping that they had some traditions in common.

It was the sharp photo of a cuneiform text dealing with epilepsy that was for me the incentive to study this disease more closely. Mr J. V. Kinnier Wilson (Cambridge) had this photo reproduced in one of his articles on Babylonian medicine (1982), but did not discuss it there, only later, in 1986, was he to publish a translation of the text in a non-Assyriological journal. Meanwhile we had discovered our common interest in this topic which led to a lively correspondence on the textual problems. Later on Dr M. J. Geller (London) became interested and in his selfless way made a copy of the text to be incorporated in this publication. I had already studied the original in the British Museum in December 1987. I am grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for their permission to publish this text in full. Dr I. L. Finkel (London) showed me his provisional transliterations or copies of some related texts which will be summarized here. Many other persons pointed out to me interesting details and additional literature; they will be given credit for their help in the text of this book.

Mr M. J. E. Richardson (University of Manchester) took on the task of correcting the English of the manuscript. He not only removed solecisms and bad idiom but also improved on the style by making it more rigid. I am most grateful for the meticulous work that he has done.

The abbreviations used are those common in Assyriological literature; see the lists of abbreviations in the dictionaries, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (AHw) and *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD).

Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit M. Stol

I INTRODUCTION

What actually is epilepsy and by what ways can one heal the person suffering from it? The answers given to these two questions over the centuries must involve the study of the history of medicine. The standard work on the history of epilepsy was written by Owsei Temkin, *The Falling Sickness. A History of Epilepsy from the Greeks to the Beginnings of Modern Neurology*, second edition, revised (The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London 1971). The first edition had appeared in 1945. An older book, on epilepsy in Classical Antiquity, was written much earlier by a village doctor in Oude Wetering (The Netherlands), F. D. Baumann, *De Heilige Ziekte. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der geneeskunde in de Oudheid* (Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1923).

Greek sources

Since the earliest times epilepsy was considered a disease of a marked supernatural character, a "sacred disease" that could be driven out only by magical means. It was to Hippocrates' eternal credit that he rejected this belief emphatically and looked for natural causes and a rational therapy. His small book *On the Sacred Disease*, written somewhere between 430 and 400 B.C., was a turning point in the way man viewed epilepsy. Indeed, this tractate became — and still is — *the* symbol for a rational way of practising medicine, because he rejects magic so vehemently. Elsewhere in his oeuvre, the "father of medicine" is far less polemical: he simply does not deem it worth mentioning supernatural explanations or treatments of disease.

Hippocrates claimed that this disease was "sacred" as any other. He did not so much object to the "divine" element in epilepsy, but rather attacked "the notion of supernatural intervention in natural phenomena as a whole (...). Even when we have to deal with the divine, the divine is in the sense *supernatural*," writes Lloyd. So Hippocrates could give the advice "to take the sick into the temples (and) there by sacrifice and prayer to make supplication to the gods."[2] Hippocrates criticises the concept "sacred" in an overt way; more hidden is his avoidance of the traditional word for disease in ancient Greek, *nousos*, with its superstitious overtones; he prefers the scientific term *nósēma*.[4] We cannot silence the fact that his own interpretation of the disease was based on faulty and purely theoretical premises sounding rather absurd to the modern reader.[5] But let us remain modest: epilepsy still is largely unexplained and it was and

(1) Baumann's summary, written in German, in *Janus* 29 (1925) 7–32. — A list of recent titles on epilepsy will be given in the Select Bibliography at the end of this book.

(2) G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience* (1979), ch. 1, in his discussion of Hippocrates' tractate (p. 8–26, 37–49); cf. Jason Pinès, Werner Neuburger, *Die Gottes- und der Natur- oder Sonn- oder Mond-Krankheit* (1968); J. van der Eijk, The Theology of the Hippocratic Treatise *On the Sacred Disease*, *Apeiron* 33 (2000) 87–[illegible]; cf. id., Airs, waters, places, and *On the Sacred Disease*: two different religious texts, *Phronesis* [illegible] (1999) 268–76.

(3) Lloyd 71–76; Greenemann 66; Jones 348.

(4) Gert Preiser, *Allgemeine Kunstausdrücke und Umschreibungen im Corpus Hippocraticum* (1976) 72–73, esp. 82–89; nousos and nósēma in Morb. Sacr.

(5) Lloyd 20–24; Temkin, 54.

remains Hippocrates who showed mankind the way out of the realm of magical lore.

We do not know much about the superstitions on epilepsy in ancient Greece before, during and even after Hippocrates; actually, the poems in his own book are our main source. Already in Classical Antiquity there was a discussion about what the word "sacred" in the name of the disease stands for.[6] More than twenty years ago, Giuliana Lanata wrote a small book trying to find out what exactly Hippocrates was inveighing against; she gave her book the title *Medicina magica e religione popolare in Grecia fino all'età di Ippocrate* (Rome 1967). This title is somewhat misleading in being too general; she predominantly examines the magical notions the Greeks had on epilepsy in Hippocrates' time.

The standard works by Baumann and Temkin do not pay much attention to the dark "prehistory" and "magic" about epilepsy. For these scholars, the history of epilepsy starts with the enlightened Father of Medicine. This book, a chapter on that "prehistory", fills that gap. But beforehand it is perhaps not out of place to say something about the "magic" surrounding epilepsy in the Classical world, which persisted and remained virulent after Hippocrates.

To be sure, ancient scientific medical scholarship after Hippocrates no more reckoned with demonic powers engendering epilepsy and located its causes in the brain, the heart, the stomach, the hands or feet.[7] The therapy, too, was rational but must have been of little avail because the disease remained incurable. Almost as a consequence, we see how later Greek and Roman authors also kinds of remedies strongly smelling of magic are creeping in, blood plays an important role.[8] Even rationally thinking authors cannot help referring seriously to this quack medicine.[9] But there is more. It has been shown that rational science was on the wane at the end of the late Hellenistic age and that we can witness a revival of "credulity" in the first century B.C. A new era of superstition began and was to last for at least five centuries.[10] In the first century A.D. one can observe how medication on the basis of magical sympathy is gaining ground and that the treatment of epilepsy is a good example for this emerging "religious medicine". This also seems to have been the "fashion" of the day, followed by the well known doctor Archigenes but rejected by Aretaeus.[11] Soranus strongly opposes those administering the entire *Dreckapotheke* in an academic garb, for us those polemical pages, preserved by Caelius Aurelianus, are instructive.[12]

[6] See Bible (see the bibliography at the end of this book) 20–22. According to C. Stocker (see the Bibliography) the ancient name 'sacred disease' stands for epilepsy, madness, melancholia, certain skin diseases and digestive problems. Sometimes, what unites them are their uncanny nature and the fear that those suffering from them are avoided from the community.

A large series of medical passages from the medical texts will be found in Walter Muir, *Der Aberglaube im Altertum. Gottheit und Heilmittel bei Hippokrates, Galen und der Heilsgilde des Deutsche* (1962) 2 ff. 78 f.

[8] Baumann, 175–187, esp. Pliny, the Elder, 285 f. etc. Temkin, 24.

[9] Baumann, 196 (Dioscurides), 218 f. (Aretaeus), 262 (Galen). Temkin, 79 f. (Dioscurides).

[10] Thus R. M. Grant, *Miracle and Natural Law in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Thought* (1952) 14–61 ff. summarizes this judicious article. Miracle and Mythology, *Zeitschrift für Religion- und Geistesgeschichte* 4 (1952) 123–143.

[11] E. Kudlien, *Untersuchungen zu Aretaeus von Kappadoxien* (1963) 77 f. adducing the swallow stones in Diosc. I, 98, 5 f. as an example, see also G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience* (1979) 4.

Kudlien, 78. For Aretaeus on epilepsy, see Max Wellmann, *Die pneumatische Schule* (1895) 54–60 (note that Wellmann does not see any difference between the doctrines of the Pneumatic School).

[12] *On Chronic Diseases* I, section 6 and in ed. E. Drabkin, 514–535.

In later centuries the medical handbooks simply gave two kinds of treatment side by side: the first rational, the second magical. So the Latin author Theodorus Priscianus (ca. 380 A.D.) wrote two books on medicine, the one based on rational medicine (*Euporiston*), the other (*Physica*) recommending magical means, in Greek *phusika*.[14] In both he discusses *epilempsis* and at the end of the pertinent section in the "scientific" book he refers the reader to the magical means in our book of the Physica, where the reader can find "the great and, in a way, the religious remedies".[15] Alexander of Tralles, a compilator living in Rome in the sixth century A.D., but writing in Greek, proceeds in a very similar way in his extensive chapter on epilepsy.[16] After having expounded the rational remedies, he turns to the occult remedies (*phusika*) and amulets (*periháptia*) about which he had heard from others or read in books.[17] The plant peony plucked during the waning of the moon or the night-shade may help — a prescription stemming from Ostanes, the famous Magus.[18] A strong potion is to be drunk at the waning of the moon.[19] One can also wear on one's finger a ring of jasper "looking like turquoise (*kallaínos*)".[20]

We cannot entirely blame these authors for trying to avoid the inevitable by desperate means.

Babylonian sources

Returning now to the "prehistory" of epilepsy, we will present the treatment of epilepsy as practised by the Babylonians and Assyrians, the subject-matter of this book. We base ourselves on the clay tablets used by them as writing material, inscribed with their cuneiform scripts. Their experts in medicine were primarily theologians and ritualists, something like "exorcists", because at that time medicine and magic were one and no distinction between religion and magic can be seen.

It is somewhat shocking that the latest full article written on epilepsy in the world of the Babylonians and Assyrians was written as early as in 1911, and by an outsider at that, though a famous scholar in medical history: Karl Sudhoff. This was the only article Temkin could use for his book of 1971 and even the Assyriologist Erich Ebeling had nothing more to say when contributing his nine-line article "Epilepsie" to the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* in 1938. When we see that in recent fascicles of this same excellent encyclopaedia of Assyriological learning those writing on the demons Lagal-amaspa'e and Lugal-irra (1987) did not realise that they were talking of the demons of epilepsy, time seems to have come to say something more on all this.

[14] *Phusika* — beginning with Nat[ura] — acquired the meaning "occult, magical": see Max Wellmann in *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang 1928, philosophisch-hist. Klasse, Nr. 2, p. [illegible].

[15] F.J. Valentine Rose (1894) p. 142, 9: *Euporiston* I, "Logicus", cap. XV, section 4, 48, and p. 25, 5: *Phys.* II, section 6, 2.

[16] Ed. Th. Puschmann, Band II (1878) 544–574, cf. the introductory remarks by the editor, p. 138–144. From p. 556 and on.

[17] P. 566, lines 564. Cf. J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* II (1938) 302.

[18] P. 572, above the middle; cf. p. 571.

[19] P. 566, 10 and 11; also p. 570, bottom. We will return to remedies like these in Chapter VI, "Leather bags" and "Amulets".

The only Assyriologist to look from time to time into epilepsy among the Babylonians was J. V. Kinnier Wilson who made a number of valuable remarks in various articles and gave a translation of an important text that we will discuss here.[1]

[1] His most coherent survey will be found in Dean Brothwell–A. T. Sandison, *Diseases in Antiquity*, (1967) 201–203.

II BABYLONIAN TERMINOLOGY

Every student beginning Assyriology will soon learn that the Akkadian word *bennu* means "epilepsy" because in his first introductory courses he will come across this word in § 278 of the Old Babylonian Code of Hammurabi: a slave, just bought but appearing to suffer from an attack of epilepsy, can be returned to the seller. This word was indeed used for the disease in everyday language; in present-day Iraq *sara'* or *ni'aysa*. An advanced student, learning the medical texts, will probably meet the very learned Sumerian word a n t a. ḫ u b b a, lit. "fallen from heaven", again denoting epilepsy. Very rarely he will get acquainted with the god Lugal-urra and he probably will not be aware of the identity of this god as the demon of epilepsy. He will meet in those contexts other evil or divine powers threatening human health: are they related to epilepsy?

We propose to study the various types of epilepsy first, then to view them in their contexts, together with other diseases, clearly related, from which we will single out a few for further study.

bennu

The most common word, used in every day life, was *bennu*, written *be-en-nu* (*um*) in the Old Babylonian syllabic cuneiform script, but a few times *be-e-nu*. We have no clear of the etymology of this word. An unpublished Neo-Assyrian slave sale contract offers the variant *bi-ni-i* in a context where one normally finds *bennu*.[4] This late form — unexplained — enables us to identify the demonic disease *biniu*, associated with "shivering" and "cold" in the lexical tradition, as a form of epilepsy. We find the word *bennu* in texts about the sale of slaves, to be discussed later (Chapter X), in a letter, in medical texts, and in "literary" contexts, a myth, omina and curses. The letter, found in the Old Babylonian city of Mari, concerns a woman: "she mutilates (?) her fingers and *bennu* falls on her time and again", the reason, it is alleged, is "the god of my lord" who has "reached" (*kašâdu*) her because she had calumniated "my lord".[5] What is new in this letter is the idea that epilepsy can be a divine punishment. We already knew, mainly from omen texts, that this disease can "fall" on a patient;[6] on the other hand, it can also "get up" (*tebû*), i.e. "go away, leave". Very threatening is a *bennu* that

[1] R. J. MacCarthy, F. Rafoul, *Spoken Arabic of Baghdad* II-A (1965) 195, sub 42.

[2] In omen omina, Ulla Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy. Omen Texts in the British Museum* (1989) 107. Note the forms *a-a-i-bi-nu*, *be-en-ni-i*, A. Livingstone, *Mesopotamian Miscellanies*, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature and Bilingualism*, *Scholars* (1986) 7, 54 (= *ZA* 16 [1926] 1 [*Sagbe-en-ni-i-a-gi-mi-a-ni*]), W. G. Lambert, *BiWi* 76 Theodicy 128 *mubennû* in *CAD* M/2 596.

[3] SID 2327 23, brought to my attention by Remko Jas (Amsterdam): MAS-*ru bi-bi-ti* <*a-na*> *I me* > *ka-ma-ti*. The combination *bennum biniim* in B. Foster, J. *Death in Mesopotamia* (1989) 12 sub 1, is misinterpreted. The comma between the two words is out. The source of *biniim* is CT 25 4-56 I 6-7, communication by J. Jeyes.

[4] D. Charpin, *ARMT* 26 I (= AEM I/2) 71 no. 312:36-39.

[5] J. Nougayrol, *RA* 67 (1973) 49 f., U. Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy* (1989) 177 f., *JCS* 41 54.

does not "get up" (*la tebû*).[8] The patient is in this letter a woman,[9] but the disease can equally affect men.

Turning now to the medical texts, one finds some of the initial symptoms of *bennu* described in a prescription from Assur about how to make a leather bundle filled with *materia magica* to be hung around the neck: "If a man is quivering all the time when lying down, shouts like the shouting of a goat, roars, is apprehensive, shouts a lot all the time (variant: talks a lot"), (then: this) the Hand of *bennu*, the demon (*šēdu*), deputy of Sin. In order to cure him, you shall ..." (etc.).[10] Clearly, the symptoms of an approaching fit are described here and named "the Hand" of epilepsy, identified as "the demon, deputy of (the moon-god) Sin". One of the symptoms, the quivering (*galātu*) when lying down, is often a symptom mentioned next to epilepsy, in lists of amulet stones used against them.[11] Other medical texts closely associate *bennu* with "shivering" (*šuruppu*): one and the same amulet stone can be used "in order that *bennu* and *šuruppû* do not come near to a man".[12] "Shivering" seems to be concomitant with the *bennu* form of epilepsy. A diagnostic text tells us that *bennu* can "begin with cold fever (*hurbašu*)".[13]

What does "deputy of (the moon-god) Sin" exactly mean? The expression "demon, deputy (*šanû*)" of a god is not very frequent, attested in a few key texts[14] and in scattered passages. The gods whose "hand" is the cause, are nameless and indicated by adjectives sounding as epithets, like *mundu* "debilitating", *ezzu* "fierce", *mutaktu* "devouring", *nadru* "raging": an example is: "Hand of the Fierce god, the demon, deputy of Nergal" (*qāt dI gašru šēdu šanê Nergal*).[15] Sometimes, we find no epithet but the name of a disease, as in *qāt ru'ibi*: "Hand of Trembling (Deputy of Anum)" or one finds "Hand of the Spirit (of the dead)" (always the deputy of Ištar).[16] Very often the epithet or name of the disease is preceded by the sign for "god",[17] but this demonic power is no real "god": it is just a demon. — Akkadian *šedu* must have this meaning here, foreshadowing its common use in Aramaic *šēdā*, a loanword taken from Akkadian. This power, although divine, is still lacking in "personality" and for that reason the "deputy" of a higher god, so we assume. Seeking for redress the patient has to approach the real god who is the ultimate sender of his ailment. Turning to *bennu*, we now realize that this demonic disease acts as deputy of the moon-god Sin.[20] In a

[8] Neugebauer, p. 44 f., lines 67–70.

[9] As in the fragmentary medical texts *BAM* 3 245 6 and 249 5.

[10] *BAM* 3 311 5'–15', with dupl. 20' rev. 5'–1'. Cf. F. Kocher, *ibid.* p. XXIII, and S. Dunham, *ZA* 75, 1985, 253.

[11] *BAM* 2 194 I 4, 356 I 21, 364 I 5, 5 376 II 30; 377 III 4.

[12] *CT* 51 89 III 13–14, 16, cf. *BAM* 2 183 32; 4 377 III 7; *STT* 2 273 III 7. — More on this in Chapter VI, § 5, Amulets.

[13] *STT* 1 89 196 (Chapter V).

[14] The key texts are: J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *Iraq* 19, 1957, 4, ND 4368, col. VI (and II); *BAM* 4 407; *CT* 14 38 K. 14081. For *šēdu* we find two Sumerograms, ALAD and A.RA.

[15] *STT* 1 93 66.

[16] *BAM* 4 407 19.

[17] *STT* 1 93–96 f.

[18] *BAM* 3 III 8'–9', 5 482 II 62, IV 47; Sp67T, III no. 88 I 10'–I'; = *TDP* 36 31 f.; *TDP* 32 10, with an astrological explanation in the commentary; *CT* 4 36 14.

[19] Note the obscure ᵈ-*lil-di* in *Iraq* 19 41 VI 15 (so! for AŠ.DU = *dil'ā* or *šuruppû*?) and ᵈNIN-*ri* in *KUB* 4 56 II 3, 4.

[20] See also p. 30. — Another ref. is *STT* 1 93 41, where — as always in this text — A.RA stands for *šēdu*.

separate chapter we will study the relationship between epilepsy and the moon. In this section we will soon meet with *bennu* defined as the obscure god Lugal-amaŠpae who demonstrably has lunar features.

In the chapter on the diagnostic texts there will be a fuller discussion about *bennu*. Here, additional information from the lexical texts, the "dictionaries" that the Babylonians made for their own use, will be provided. They show that almost all forms of epilepsy to be discussed on the following pages are equated with *bennu*, so it follows that this is the most general expression. One equation, however, offers something new: one Sumerian word for the disease is a.a.d.n.i.m.i is both *bennu* and *lassatu* in Akkadian. The latter disease is a muscular one according to its Sumerogram "heavy muscle" (SA DU GÍD DÙ). If s.a.n in the Sumerian word s.a.d.n.i.m means "muscle", the word obliquely points to the muscular convulsions during an epileptic fit. Another, late, lexical text has *bennu* and "Hand of the God" after various fevers (*humtu*)[22] — which does not necessarily mean that *bennu* is feverish.

How is the form of epilepsy called *bennu* distinguished from the other forms? Not at all — one is inclined to say, because it is the general word for epilepsy. However, *periodicity* may be its special characteristic. The clausula about the possibility of *bennu* in slave sale contracts, to be studied later, points to a chronic disease with recurrent manifestations and the iterative form in the letter from Mari has the same implication: *bennu* falls on the woman "time and again". The title of a literary work preserved in a catalogue also suggests periodicity: *Bennu* was renewed[23] — the same verb was used for the moon "renewing" every month.[24] The Akkadian word *itu*, attested only once in the diagnostic texts,[25] seems to indicate the expected moment of an epileptic fit.

muqit šamê (a.n.t.a.š.u.b.b.a)

The Sumerian word a.n.t.a.š.u.b.b.a is a learned expression for epilepsy and only attested in the "scientific literature" of the Babylonians, primarily in their medical and magical texts. In Sumerian the word means "what has fallen from heaven"[26] and is very similar to the word a.n.t.a.š.u.b.š.u.b.b.a, "meteorite". Its equivalent in Akkadian is not known well, but a broken passage in a lexical text allows for *muqit šame*, literally "what has fallen from heaven".[27] We find this Akkadian expression a few times in context in a ritual,[28] and in a damaged passage in the diagnostic handbook: "(the patient — a baby) was touched by *muqit šamê*; the Hand of his God — he will die".[29] Furthermore

An unpublished ref. is Dr. 87 — commentary on *TDP* 98 ff.

[22] *CT* 18 24 K. 4219 rev. 1 10-14; dupl. *ZTBA* 4 2 317-321; cf. B. Meissner, *BAW* I 71 39-43; series Ak. IX).

[23] W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 16 (1962) 64, IV Sm. 669 7: *a-te-ed-du-ub-bi-en-ni* [ŠÚ.A ...].

[24] Tablet XXVI 7 (Chapter V). In other contexts, not recognized by R. Labat, *TDP* 232 19, 234 33 (*ana* IGI DU.B OIG GAM).

[25] s.v. "This hour has come" originally said of an epileptic in Palestine Arabic: S.H. Stephan, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 5 1925 34 no. 69, with note.

[26] Note syllabic a.a.n.t.a.š.u.b.b.a in the late lex. text Iqituh, *AfO* 18 (1957) 580 83 168 L. MS. E.

[27] W.b.W.s. in Soden, *AHw.* 658a, accepted by R. Borger in his *ABZ*, p. 60 30; CT 18 a.n.t.a.š.u.b.b.a = *muqit pi* (*Ak?*) M? CT 1 gives the passages under *muqtu*. The extra source is Antagal VI 160 (copy in CT 19 22 II 30). The restoration in *MSL* 17 (1985) 166 MN. 4a OIG] is unlikely.

[28] *STT* 2 126 2', incorporated by F.A.M. Wiggermann in a ritual, see his *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits: The Ritual Texts* (1992) 38 (text 278) and p. 54.

[29] *TDP* 2 54 25.

in a long list of diseases are listed, after incubus and succubus: "what has fallen from heaven" – "fiery glow (*sirhu*) of a star (var. the stars)" – "fall of the *bennu*".[30]

A description of a n.t a s u b b a, more than once quoted in modern popular essays on Babylonian epilepsy, is found in the diagnostic handbook, but at an unexpected juncture, not in the chapters on epilepsy, but at the beginning of that detailing the ailments in the neck, shoulders, etc. We give a translation:[31]

- If a sick man's neck turns to the right, time and again, while his hands and feet are paralysed (*amsa*), his eyes are now closed, now rolling, saliva flows in/from his mouth, he makes ... sounds (*harāru*): (it is) a n.t a šu b b a.
- If his heart is awake (= he is conscious) when it seizes him, it will be eradicated (*nasāhu*).
  If he does not know himself (= he is unconscious) when it seizes him, it will not be eradicated.
  If he turns his neck to the left, time and again, while his hands and feet are stretched, his eyes are wide open (turned) to the sky, saliva flows in/from his mouth, he makes ... sounds, he does not know himself (= he is unconscious); in the end of [...] it (= the disease) overwhelms (*huātu*) him time and again: (it is) a n.t a šu b b a, the Hand of Sin.

In the chapters in the diagnostic handbook on epilepsy proper a n.t a šu b b a occurs more often and can be compared with other forms of epilepsy. Saliva in the mouth seems to be an important characteristic. A late commentary on a medical text gives the following explanation: "a n.t a s u b b a: the sick person is choking and discharges his saliva all the time".

The word "saliva" in medical texts deserves attention. When speaking of epilepsy, one expects "foam" rather than "saliva". The Akkadian word *ru'ru* (Sumerogram U.U) is a cognate of Syriac *re'ā* "foam". The Syriac version of the New Testament uses this root (*rw'*) when describing the foaming of the epileptic boy in Mark 9:18, Greek *aphrizô*. However, in Akkadian "saliva" seems to be the most objective rendering of the word. *Ru'ru* is the normal word for "spittle", "one spits by throwing it (*naḫāru*, *šaṭāru*)". A few times, the plural form *ru'ānu* (also UH MEŠ) occurs.[34] There is a second word for saliva in Akkadian: *illatu*, only attested in a few Old Babylonian incantations (in the form *elliātum*) and in later medical texts. This word always goes with the verb *alāku* "to flow", "to go". But this does not mean that everywhere when UH is used to "flow" we have to read this Sumerogram as *illatu*.[35] *Illatu* often is construed as feminine plural (*illātka*) but not always; singular and masculine plural forms also are attested.[36]

[30] *STT* 2 138 – 9, dupl. *BAM* 4 338:20. — As to *ni-ri-ih* MUL(.MEŠ), W. Farber *BiO* 34 (1977) 245 B1 translates in another ritual the passage GIM SUR MUL(.MEŠ) *limqut-ma* "wie eine Sternschnuppe mögen sie niederfallen" (SUR = *sirhu*).
TDP 80:1–6.

[32] The manuscript pts offer ZI-*ma* (Labat, Pl. XIX 3) and ZI-*ni-ma* (Labat, Pl. XXI 3). The similar passage in the new text BM 47775 rev. 1 (Table XXVI of the Diagnostic Handbook) offers ZI-*ih* (*nimassah*): see Chapter IV.

[33] *BRM* 4 32:1 (*mar-ṣa uh-tan-naq-u* UH-*su* ŠUB ŠUB-*u* AN.TA.ŠUB.BA).

[34] Cf. [illegible] *ru'ru* (or also *ru'ānu*) in Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian incantations, Cf. Wilcke *ZA* 75 (1985) 198 sub b p. 206.

[35] Compare *TDP* 98:36. — H. with the related passage *BAM* 5 471 rt. 22 (*ma-a-ru*). Note *u-la-a* ANŠE (*BAM* 3 248 IV 40) and UH ANŠE in a duplicate (383:8).

[36] *TDP* 98:6, *BAM* 2 98:44 (sing.), *BAM* 2 145:8, 197:3 (masc. plural).

Although some medical texts seem to differentiate between LÚ (*ru'ru*, plural *ru'ane*) and *illanu*,[37] it seems impossible to discover any basic difference (but note that only *ru'ru* plays a role in black magic). Perhaps *illanu* means "water in the mouth" and *ru'ru* "spittle" according to these texts. One passage uses both words: "If the saliva (*ellanu*) of a man flows when he is talking, and he throws his spittle (*ru'ru*) to (another) man."[38] The pair reminds one of Hebrew *rir* "descending" in David's beard (1 Samuel 21:14 [13]), and the *roq* that one swallows or spits (Job 7:19, 30:10). *Illanu* can be the saliva of animals.[39] The Akkadian word for "foam" is probably *napištu*.

On the mythological level we can suggest an explanation for saliva being characteristic of a n t a š u b b a: for the Babylonian it was "falling down from heaven" (a n t a s u b b a). A very similar idea can be found in an Old Babylonian incantation against jaundice: its cause is "the spittle" (*ellanum*) of the god Nergal, "raining like a shower".[40] See farther in the section on diseases from heaven.

A n t a š u b b a has some peculiar characteristics. First, this is the only form of epilepsy that must be "torn out", "eradicated" (*nasahu*); this is not said of *benna*, etc.[41] Second, one prescription tells us that a patient suffering from it must eat the flesh of the bird *ellebu* (an owl); the same prescription is used to "eradicate and loosen the Hand of a Spirit (of the dead)", which suggests a connection between the two.[42]

muqtu

A late exercise text equates the theological expression a n t a s u b b a "fallen from heaven" with two words from daily life, namely *muqtu* and *benna*.[43] The word *muqtu* means "something that has fallen down" (see above) and sounds like an ordinary word, less sophisticated than a n t a s u b b a = *muqu šame*. In fact *muqtu* often stands for "epilepsy". We will give the evidence now.

The first chapter (tablet) on epilepsy in the diagnostic handbook starts with: "If *muqtu* has fallen upon him and [ ] (tablet XXVI, 1) and the whole section on epilepsy in the handbook bears the general title "symptoms and a n t a s u b b a".[44] It looks as if *muqtu* can be here identified with a n t a s u b b a. One example for *muqtu* is from another diagnostic text dealing with epilepsy:

> If *muqtu* has fallen upon him and he roars like an ox, his lips [ ] a n t a š u b b a has seized him. If [ ] he will quickly stop crying, if [ ].[45]

Other texts mention *muqtu* and *benna* in one breath. Examples in later lexical texts mentioned earlier are found together in an incantation: "An evil storm demon came forth towards the land and brought the people of the land, north and south, in con-

[37] E. Ebeling, *AfO* 1 (1923) 23–5, lines 1, 5 and 7; *AMT* 31,4 lines 18, 20, 22 and 11, 14.

[38] *BAM* [illegible] 11 16 (dupl. *AMT* 29,5 [illegible]) and *BAM* 5 436 [illegible] (R. Labat, Syria 33 (1956) 216, MB).

[39] Wilcke, *ZA* 75 198:9 (dog); *BAM* 3 248 IV 40 (dupl. 182 8 I 13) (donkey).

[40] *UET* 5 85 1–3; see E. von Weiher, *Der babylonische Gott Nergal* [illegible] 34.

[41] See [illegible] 2 8a [illegible] also *STT* [illegible] 57, 4 [illegible] 54, 93 [illegible] 256 I 24 [illegible] with dupl. *BAM* 3 166 11; 5 478 rev. 7; *STT* [illegible] 9; 59 with dupl. *BM* 4 75 rev. 3 (= Tablet XXVI, 1). But note Das 28: for eradicating a n t a s u b b a, *benna* Lugal-ḫarra". *STT* 2 300: 5.

[42] *BAM* 5 487 rev. 7, compared with 47 III 5.

[43] *AfO* 18 83 68 1 (copy in *AfO* 28 100 134: the series *Igituh*).

[44] See below, in Chapter IV.

[45] *STT* 1 89 148–151. Chapter V.

fusion. *Bennu* – *miqtu*, who do not rest in the land, bring gloom (the demons *šēdu utukku, rābiṣu*, the great ones, who chase the people in the streets ..."; and the text continues in the same mood.[46] This is a translation of the Akkadian version of this bilingual Sumero-Akkadian text. Interestingly, the Sumerian and original version has the name of a demon, [47] l u g a l – n a m e n n a d u g u d d a, instead of the two forms of epilepsy. This is the name of the demon of epilepsy *Bennu*, followed by the epithet "heavy" (d u g u d d a). We conclude that the Akkadian version with its *bennu* – *miqtu* is an attempt to render this name. The lexical tradition had the same idea and went so far as to explain Sumerian "heavy" (d u g u d)[48] and even Akkadian "to be heavy (*kabātu*)[49] as "*miqtu*.

In the next section we will see that *miqtu* can have more meanings than "epilepsy" alone, but we may assume that the use of the word within the diagnostic handbook is consistent: we saw that there it denotes a form of epilepsy — most probably a n t a s – b b a — and we will now study the other passages on *miqtu* in the same handbook. A translation of Tablet XXVI will be found in Chapter IV. This tablet starts with a section on *miqtu*, translated as "fall" — and we refer the reader to that chapter. To our surprise, we find it outside the chapters on epilepsy only in the chapter on newborn babies (XI 1):[50]

> If the baby, two, three days having passed[51] after it is born, does not accept the milk, (and) *miqtu* (var. SE-*tum*) is falling upon him, time and again, like the Hand of the God, its — (the disease's name) is Hand of the Goddess, the Snatcher (*Ekkēmtu*) — he will die.
>
> If *miqtu* has fallen upon a baby and he recovers, his sickness (var. *su*) will last long and he will die.
>
> If the baby is sucking the breast and *miqtu* falls upon him, Hand of [Ištar or Sin].
>
> If the baby has been given to suck during one or two months and *miqtu* falls upon him, his hands and his feet are paralyzed (*amsu*), the Hand of the God [an obscure passage follows] — he will die.

The reader will first of all think of spasms — whether epileptic or not. This may be correct but can be only a part of the truth, because a closer inspection shows that three out of the four passages connect *miqtu* with breast feeding. The baby stops drinking after *miqtu* has fallen upon him, so it seems, and indeed, death is the consequence of this behaviour — not of spasms. An Old Babylonian omen of the *šakkan* has the forecast: "*Miqtum* will fall on the foot of the man and the foot of the man will become dry.

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[46] [illegible]

[47] M[illegible] [illegible] Ancaga [illegible] = B[illegible] 159

[48] VAT 9718 I 31 = TCS IV 212, cited in *AHw* 658a; see *CAD* M/2 [illegible], comm. on BAD in Izbu I 64. This [illegible] interpretation is followed in de Ṣ[illegible] XIX [illegible] *CAD* M/2 [illegible] comment [illegible] here will be [BAD] in the country", it says, "because you do not recognise (the explanation *kab-tum* [= BAD] = [illegible] M[illegible] BAD, and so *miqtum* (and *miqtum*) is *bennum*". Cf. also [illegible] 7 [illegible] Note that a Neo-Assyrian [illegible] *be* [= BAD] can be an abbreviation of *bennu*.

[49] *CAD* [illegible] Tablet [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 49, 66, and 1 [illegible]

Related: [illegible] (= *[illegible]*) [illegible] 26.

[50] [illegible] supplied with the help of [illegible] 28 = [illegible] 9.

[51] [illegible] Cf. [illegible] *Babylonian Embryology* (1989) [illegible]

Lameness of the foot might be meant [illegible] but what interests us here is the connection between *muqtu* and dryness, because the passages in the diagnostic handbook on the baby no more drinking milk suggest a similar line of thought.

Above, speaking of *muqu šamê* "what has fallen down from heaven", we suggested that this could have been evil fluids pouring down upon the patient, the cause of his ever flowing saliva. Do the same poisonous fluids pour down here upon the baby, replacing the healthy mother-milk?

Muqtu does not always refer to epilepsy. It is perfectly possible that *muqtu*, as a general name for a type of disease, must be dissociated from the meaning "what has fallen down", used up till now. The verb "to fall" Akkadian *muqatte* is often used to indicate the suddenness of an attack. Any disease, calamity, or demon, for that matter, can "fall upon" a human being[illegible] and it does not necessarily fall down from heaven. *Muqtu* could very well stand for a disease suddenly coming over a person. In a long, bilingual list of diseases from the Old Babylonian period fever is described as "fall of fire", where "fire" stands for fever.[illegible] A sudden fever is meant; the forms of epilepsy come seven lines later and belong to another category.

A number of clay tablets of later date, duplicates, give three lists of diseases that are to be "indicated" (*šuzzuzu*).[illegible] *Muqtu* occurs in the second and third lists and has nothing to do with epilepsy (*bennu*) or is mentioned in a completely different place. In an Old Babylonian letter a woman writes that *muqtu* has "fallen upon" her and that she has nothing to give to a doctor.[illegible] Epilepsy would have required a "conjurer" (*asipum*) not a doctor (*asûm*). A curse formula against the evil doer on a boundary stone inscription says: "May (the goddess) Ninsuna, the great physician, let come forth from his body a [illegible] wound that ceases not, a *muqtu* that does not cease."[illegible] In another curse by Gula on boundary stones *muqtu* is omitted and there we read of "a wound that does not leave".[80] Epilepsy is hardly meant here.[illegible]

The rather general concept "wound", also translated "disease", seems to be a disease with immediately visible symptoms. Akkadian *ummu*. An incantation says: "I do not know the names (*šumu*) of the numerous *ummu*'s. I do not know the terms (*nibit*

[illegible] meaning, cf. *AfO* [illegible] also *muqtu ša ilê*[illegible] by halves will try to quote these two [illegible] sarcasis. Cf. *muqtu ummu*[illegible] in Landsberger [illegible] *AfOr* 54. Remember the disease mentioned in the New Testament: Matthew [illegible], Mark [illegible], Luke [illegible].

[illegible] *CAH* M.1 [illegible] passages mainly associated with [illegible] Akkadian [illegible] and *HAP* [illegible] 43, perhaps [illegible] SU B-*šum-ma* [illegible] *Babylonian Diagnosis* [illegible] 1989, 97, no. 18, [illegible] *muqqiti*; *ARMT* [illegible] 7, no. 12, [illegible] *bennum*.

[illegible] 43, [illegible] *MSL* [illegible] 136, [illegible] the correction made by C. B. F. Walker, *BiOr* 36 [illegible] 1979, 72; *IZLS* B [illegible] *muqtu* [illegible] 53, 58, [illegible] the Akkadian [illegible] in a *MSL* [illegible] in a context [illegible] scribes.

[illegible] The [illegible] are *BAM* 4 [illegible] = *KAR* 333; *STT* 2 136, cf. K. 6335 in the *Catalogue* of C. Bezold. See B. Landsberger, *MSL* [illegible] 15, [illegible] groups a–c.

[illegible] *BAM* 4 [illegible] and rev. [illegible] 22, also rev. [illegible] K. [illegible] *Catalogue* [illegible]

[illegible] 169, [illegible] 55, [illegible] 3.

[illegible] *MI-Pa* Plate 1, [illegible] IV 5, [illegible] with R. Borger, *AfOr* 24 [illegible] 1973, 5; *mu-qa-ta-te* [illegible] a. Cf. K. Watanabe, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* [illegible] 1987, 48, sub 5.

[illegible] *MIP* 2, [illegible] VII 14–25 and C. Wilcke, F. Reschid, *ZA* 65 (1975), 58–72, 75. Cf. Watanabe, 38 sub 3 and 13.

[illegible] Two more passages for *muqtu* are [illegible] *T* 51 142, [illegible] dupl. [illegible] 53, [illegible] 1983, 258, 7 with the Old Babylonian [illegible] *AfO* [illegible] 4 (incantation) and *BAM* 4 374 IV [illegible] herb against *ummu* and *muqtu* was administered [illegible] the patient with [illegible].

of the numerous *muqtu*s".[62] A *muqtum* "emerges" (*asum*) on the body[63] and a (red) exudation on the wall of a house is also described as *muqtu*.[64]

Finally a word on the European popular expression — now archaic — *The Falling Sickness* might be appropriate. It refers to the patient falling down and not in any way to the "falling" character of the disease itself, as was the case with the Babylonians. The Latin word *caducus* "falling", with this special meaning, is attested for the first time in a slave sale contract from Transsylvania 142 A.D. (see p. 133). Gregory of Tours (sixth cent. A.D.) wrote that "farmers" use the word *cadivus*, and doctors prefer *epilenticus*. Isidore of Sevilla, writing in the seventh century, gives *epilepsia* and *caduca passio* as the normal names for the disease and adds that common people call those suffering from it *lunatici*.[65] Later Hebrew and Syriac took over the word "falling (sickness)"[66] and Arabic *sar'un* derives from a verb meaning "to throw down".

There has always been a tendency to connect the word "falling" when it occurs in the Bible with the Falling Sickness. Of the three Wise Men it is said that they "fell down and worshipped" the baby Jesus (Matthew 2:11). Medieval legend took this to be an epileptic fit and the three "Kings" could help against this disease, it was believed.[67] This is nonsense, of course. Harder to judge is a passage in the story of Bileam in the Old Testament. This prophet says of himself: "The man having his eye (*'ayin* =) who hears the word of God, who sees the vision of the Almighty, falling down (*nofel*) and having his eyes uncovered (*g'lūj enāyim*)". Numbers 24:3b–4 (also in vs. 15f.). One has to compare this passage with 2 Samuel 23:1–3 and then the strange words that interest us appear to be peculiar for the description of Bileam.[68] Jewish tradition (in the Septuagint and the Targum) take it to point to a divine revelation during the night or during sleep. Others assume it to be a status of extasy or trance. King Saul in such a status, "lay (or "fell") naked all day and all night" (1 Samuel 19:24). Although one can read in many books that Bileam is described here as suffering from an epileptic fit, there is nothing to prove this.

Diseases from heaven

Following the discussion of *amēlu šubbā* and *muqtum* "what has fallen (from heaven)" more needs to be said about the idea, prevalent with the Babylonians, of diseases originating in "heaven" and "falling down" on a patient.

Old Babylonian and later incantations inform us about a long, standard, list of diseases that they "have descended" from heaven,[69] specifically from "the tower (?) of

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62. K. 6057 after C. Bezold, *Catalogue* II 759.
63. *YOS* 11 29:1, [*zi-mu-ur* LÚ *mu-uq-tum it-ta-a-a-la-ni* (cf. 3. *simmu*).
64. CAD M/2 105b, also in *CT* 38 28:21: a night "red like *muqi bīn*".
65. F.J. Dölger in *Antike und Christentum* 4 (1934) 193 and 195.
66. Post-Talmudic Hebrew *holi nefel* = morbus caducus; Syriac *mappelā* (C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* 4 ed.).
67. Leo Kanner, *Human Biology* 2 (1930) 22; Schneble 75–4.
68. Hedwige Rouillard, *La Péricope de Balaam (Nombres 22–24). La prose et les "oracles"* (1985) 347–353, 385.
69. Cf. W. Farber, *JNES* 49 (1990) 307, 311 (OB); 316 f. (SB).

heaven" [illegible] "from the star(s) of heaven",[71] or "from the adder of heaven" [illegible]. Little children and sheep are here the victims. Fever [illegible] fire [illegible] came down from heaven, attacking beast, man and baby [illegible]. We learn something more from an incantation against the demonic disease *maškadu*:

"From a star of heaven he has descended, from a star of heaven he took (with him) half the venom of a snake, half the venom of a scorpion [illegible]"

and a frightening description of this demon's features follows.

It has already been shown how jaundice has its origin in the "spittle" of the god Nergal, that is "burning" [illegible], and another incantation has the more or less obscure line: "the dark clouds (?) (*a-Pl-a-at*) of (the god of rain) Adad which have descended from heaven, the dark clouds (?) of Nergal which are in the land [illegible]". Nergal, god of pestilence and other severe diseases, was identified with the planet Mars and especially the cattle suffered from him. [illegible] The evil flow (*baštu*) of the stars was feared by the Babylonian.[76] Even the god of the sky himself, Anu, is invoked in a curse formula directed against those not abiding by a treaty with the king of Assyria, in these words: "May Anu, king of the gods, rain upon all your houses (?) scaly exhaustion, [illegible] (?), sleeplessness, worries, [illegible] health [illegible]". The wrath of heaven is indeed summoned (*dekû*) against sleeplessness.[80] The "Daughter of Anu", the demon Lamaštu, is mentioned together with forms of epilepsy.[81] Demons often were called "spawn of heaven" or "spawn of Anu", that was the place of their origin.[82] Later on we will see that the spawn of the star-god Sebaca is a severe form of epilepsy. And now we can better appreciate the passage quoted above under [illegible] Ea-šub-ba: "What has fallen from heaven [illegible] the fiery glow of a star (var. stars) [illegible] full of *bennu* [illegible]. During daytime the stars are in the Netherworld and when they rise at sunset the demons are coming up together with them right from the Netherworld. Some stars are even identified with demons. This means that the Babylonian had to fear their evil emanations during the night.[84] We have to add that, according to tablet VII of *Šurpu*, not only heaven but also earth could be a source of diseases.

[71] *Note Z*: KU-*ni at ta-me-e ur-du-ni*. A. Goetze, *JCS* 19 (1965) 18 (see 10 R. Berger, *JCS* [illegible] 1964) 55b: [illegible] Others, however, [illegible] Farber, [illegible] note 48.

[illegible]

[illegible] Farber, [illegible] the Milky Way [illegible] with Weh. [illegible] 44 [illegible] immediately [illegible] 21.

[illegible] and duplicates [illegible] *RA* 69 (1975) 5 [illegible]

[illegible] *CT* 15, 45, see note 40.

[illegible]

[illegible] in Weh. [illegible] *babylonische Texte* [illegible] Nergal [illegible] 76-85.

[illegible] W. Farber, *Schlaf* [illegible] 63.

[illegible] Vanstiphout, [illegible] note 338, after E. Ebeling, *Reste* [illegible] *ANET* [illegible] 1969) 53b.

[illegible] M. J. Geller, *Incipit* [illegible] 63.

[illegible] *CT* 17, 15, 2: *ša-ma-ši ša-ma-mi maškadu* [illegible] AN-TA-SU-BA [illegible] DIŠ-MU-ŠAL [illegible] (*šam*) [illegible] *CT* 17, 14, 6: [illegible] AN-TA-SU-BA [illegible] DIŠ-MU-ŠAL [illegible] (*šam*) [illegible] ŠAL-UR-RA)

[illegible] A. Oppenheim in [illegible] *Scientia Islamica Bibliographia* [illegible] 1970) [illegible] with 65 [illegible] note 77. [illegible] *CT* 17, 6, 22-26b: [illegible] demons release [illegible] their [illegible]

[illegible] *RA* 4 (1897) 38. [illegible] *Šurpu* [illegible] MU-LU-MU-SU [illegible]

[illegible] R. Caprice, *Or NS* 43 (1974) 302 [illegible] See also [illegible] M. Lebeau, *Journal asiatique* 264 (1976) 275.

Diseases "descend" from heaven and one of them is *muqu* according to the standard lists.[85] An Akkadian incantation from Ugarit indeed tells us that *muqu*, being "created" in heaven, "fell" down on earth, causing disease.[86] But one cannot say that this is a form of epilepsy, judging from its obscure description. An astrological text forecasts all kinds of mishap, when a planet approaches the planet SAG ME GAR, one possibility is that "there will be a strong *muqu* in the land".[87] Elsewhere we read that this will happen when Mars comes near to SAG ME GAR.[88] If in this case the planet Jupiter is meant by SAG ME GAR,[89] one could think of the epilepsy called "spawn of Šulpaea (= Jupiter)", but nothing is certain here.

"Spawn of Šulpaea"

In medical and magical texts we sometimes meet with "the spawn (*ahuta*) of (the god) Šulpaea", always in a context of epilepsy. This seems to be a further specification, following *benna*,[90] Lugalurra, the demon of epilepsy,[91] or Hand of the God, but in this last case "Spawn of Šulpaea" might have been used independently, as "Hand of the God" is not necessarily a form of epilepsy.

Before attempting to find an explanation for this strangely sounding name of a disease, we will give translations of its symptoms according to the Babylonian medical handbooks. First, among the diseases of a small child:

> If a baby has been put on his feet (?) (in his) first, second, third (and) fourth year and he cannot stand up or remain standing, he can eat bread, his mouth is "seized" and he cannot speak, "Spawn of Šulpaea", he will not fare well.[92]

This looks like a severe malfunctioning. Indeed, a child "born with Šulpaea" was thrown into the river, alive (Tablet XXIX, see p. 89). Not only the disease, also the child himself can be called "Spawn of Šulpaea", as the Babylonian handbook on malformed babies shows: "If a woman gives birth to "Spawn of Šulpaea" (the god of rain), Adad will wash away that house."[93]

Turning now to other texts mentioning this "Spawn", there is a section in a diagnostic-therapeutic text that first gives its symptoms and then tells what one should do about it.[94] Its first entry is badly broken, paresis (*rimuta*) and problems in speaking are among the symptoms of being "seized" by this first form of "Spawn of Šulpaea", and two alternative prescriptions, dependent on the patient's behaviour, promise that he will

[85] Goetze, *JCS* 9 (1955) 48; Farber, *ZA* 85 (1995) 206.

[86] J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V (1968) 32 no. 17 rev. 12–15 (RS 17.155): *ina šamê ibbenu muqu* (RI RI GA) *ittu šame ina qaqqari ittaqu*.

[87] R. Largement, *ZA* 52 (1957) 242 31 F: this forecast alone in line 33b.

[88] Largement, 260 (*ACh Šur* XI, A 68 = R.C. Thompson, *Reports* 195:7).

[89] Largement: "Mars (I SAG ME GAR) désigne Jupiter, au 3e mois après son lever héliaque (*GIAB* 24 f.; Ş. Planetarium 334 f.)."

[90] In Maqlu II 57 and *LBAT* 1597:6, commenting on "the star of Marduk" (= Jupiter): see M. Leibovici, *Journal asiatique* 244 (1956) 276.

[91] *TDP* 194:55, but independent in line 56.

[92] G. Meier, *AfO* 14 (1941–44) 142:35.

[93] Emending *mi-lu-uk-ku-ba-ac-ca* in *TDP* 220:7, uncertain. The text offers *lu-up-pu-us* which one could compare with *ilappis* in *STT* 89:125, see note 99.

[94] *TDP* 220:21–23.

[95] E. Leichty, *JCS* 19 (1970) 38 (ebu 1:68), with note.

[96] *STT* 89:67–91, in Chapter V.

recover; the second treatment involves anointing with weasel fat.[97] Most unusual are the "prescriptions" in the two next entries.[98]

> If a seizure (*šibir*) seizes him while going in the street and, as it seizes him, he [illegible][99] his hands (and) feet with the ground, his eyes are darkened, his nostrils are contracted (?), he "eats" his garment, "Spawn of Šulpaea." In due time, perishing of his father's house,[100] his father and his mother will bear his punishment. In order that (this disaster) does not reach (them), you bury him in the earth alive and its evil (portent) will be undone.
>
> If a seizure seizes him at sunset and, as it seizes him, a wailing voice shrieks to him and he himself responds every time (it) he (time and again shouts [illegible] of (?)[101] my father, my (?) mother, my brothers, my sisters, (are) dead" | | [illegible] and stops (shouting) every time. | . | After having cried he falls asleep and does not get up. (?) As the seizure leaves him he does not know that he has cried. "Spawn of Šulpaea," it will not go away. You burn him with fire in his oliness.

This patient can be a young child, for he walks and talks. There is something terribly wrong with him which will cause the downfall of "his father's house," i.e., his family, just as the baby in the teratological handbook forecasted. The measures taken are most unusual and simply unparalleled in the corpus of cuneiform medical texts. Burying or burning the patient is no therapy — this is doing away forever with an unwanted person. What is so wrong with him? The reader can judge for himself: the patient seems to be on the verge of madness, according to our perception, and he acts to the detriment of his own family. Such a person is not accepted by society. Below, we will have ample occasion to see how epilepsy and madness can go together (p. 491).

The fourth entry is badly broken:

> If his head (and) his body shake, he throws his neck to the right (or) the left, time and again, his tongue is swollen (or "bound"), (?) his tongue is knotted, he [illegible] his mouth, his limbs (?) are let down, when walking he [illegible] "Spawn of Šulpaea." For a poor man, seizure of Evil; for an important person, [illegible] he will die prematurely.

Whatever is meant, the prognosis is unfavorable.

Who is Šulpaea? He is a Sumerian god of second rank in the Mesopotamian pantheon.[102] He has astral traits and was identified with the planet Jupiter, the star of Marduk.[103] Marduk was to the Babylonians the highest god, as Jupiter was with the Romans. Šulpaea can also appear in demonic form, to the surprise of some modern scholars.[104] Our expression "Spawn of Šulpaea" also brings us into the realm of demons. Indeed, the demon of epilepsy, Lugal-urra, belongs to his sphere, as we will

[97] Line 172: *šamna ašāti*. Following CAD A/2 [illegible] s.v. *ašāt*; cf. K. Bayer, *RlA* [illegible].

[98] Lines 174–179 and 180–186. Also translated, without comments, by Erica Reiner in *Le monde du courrier = Sources orientales*, 7 (1966), 92.

[99] K[illegible] *ṭup-pa-ni-ma* [illegible] (= *a-na qaq-qa-ri-a ha-am-ma-ni-in*) *HdP* [illegible].

[100] Balandsberger's emendation in line 177 was not supported by collation; see *RlA* 3 (1964), 59, on note 16.

[101] "OF" probably to be deleted. The remark "broken" in the next line shows that the scribe's original was not in good shape in this passage.

[102] A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 55 (1963), 1–67.

[103] Falkenstein, 33; *RlA* 3 (1957), 6. Already in the boundary stone of Nazimurutaš, as we notice this identification with Marduk, we recognise the god Šulpaea mentioned in the text. IV 7 in the "spade" among the figures (*MdP* 7, 30).

[104] Falkenstein, 34.

see later. In the great Babylonian handbook on astrology we read that the moon, when under certain conditions at its first visibility, finds Sulpaca at its side: "the king will be sick (*šalā'u*)."[105] A commentary on this passage, written by the Babylonians themselves, wants to explain why Sulpaca is associated with sickness here. Its line of thought is not very clear, but Lugal-urra is given as one possibility.[106] The astrological section in the Babylonian handbook of astronomy, Mul-Apin, associates the "Star of Marduk" (= Jupiter) with epilepsy (*bennu*): "If the Star of Marduk sees the body (*puggu*) of a man, *bennu* will seize him."[107]

What, then, is the "Spawn of Šulpaca"? A ready-to-an Old Babylonian text, broken, connects Sulpaca with "spawn of a star" (*zêrat kakkabim*).[108] The word "spawn" derives from a verb best attested in its meaning "to fertilize," its original meaning is "to pour out (impregnate)," often used for diseases. It is this meaning that we need here and "pouring" will immediately remind us of the general Babylonian idea of diseases "raining down" from heaven. "Or was the baby's mother fertilized with this sperm?" Here a planet, "Jupiter," is seen as the specific source of the disease, this severe form of epilepsy. The main god of the pantheon, Marduk, is its ultimate cause. That the patient himself can also be called "Spawn of Šulpaca," as we saw once, is a secondary development.[109]

Lugal-urra, "Lord of the Root"

The "demon" of epilepsy had the name Lugal-urra. He was considered to be a god, as a ready the sign for "god," practically always written before his name, indicates. He appears among the various kinds of epilepsy in lists, together with, for example, *bennu* and an Ištar-šubba.[110] This god "seizes" a man. The late commentary on a medical text in which we already found a kind of definition for an Ištar-šubba, the "sacred epilepsy," says about Lugal-urra: "Lugal-urra: he turns away his right eye and his left eye." The translation "to turn away" for *kapāru* probably is not entirely correct, but is not far off the mark.[111] Moreover, among the symptoms of a seizure by Lugal-urra is often an abnormal condition of the eyes.[112] The first entry of a section about seizures by Lisdemon states: "If at the time it overcomes him, his right eye circles like a spindle, his left eye is full of blood, he opens his mouth time and again, he bites his

[105] [illegible] Sappu 2 [illegible]

[106] [illegible] W. Mayer, *AfO* 40/41 (1993-94) 443 Edition IV VAT [illegible] "SU-LUL-LA *ana* A-*ši* GUR-RU-UN-A, [illegible] UGAL-LIR-RA *li*. Note that the "god" determinative is lacking in front of Lugal-urra.

[107] Mul-Apin II [illegible] H. Hunger, D. Pingree, *MUL.APIN: An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform* (1989) [illegible] Caps B 4 [illegible] and Supp.

[108] A.L. Oppenheim and F. Kocher, *AfO* 18 (1957-58) 63 VAT [illegible]

[109] Edition [illegible] Note a broken context [illegible] ZERA Šulpaca [illegible]

[110] Beside [illegible] with [illegible] 22 [illegible] 30-35; *RAM* 3 3 [illegible] 23-32, 59-77; [illegible] *ARM* [illegible] Maqlu II 58 [illegible] alone with [illegible] *BiOr* [illegible] *BBR* [illegible] E.A.M. Weggemann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits*, *BRM* 4 [illegible] *CT* [illegible] BM [illegible] *KAR* [illegible] 44 [illegible]

W. Farber, *BiOr* 56:2 (= *KAR* 42) 31; *RAM* 3 331 23; *ZA* 77 (1989) 15 etc.

A. Goetze, *JCS* 14 (1960) [illegible] book, henceforward "Ivan Starr," *The Rituals of the Diviner* (1983) 22 [illegible] be hen, "wer (on the) right, he left," said of parts of the sheep liver (*CAD* K 182); [illegible] also said of eyes [illegible]

[112] See *ZA* 1 59 [illegible] 46 (especially in the first entries, Chapter V)

tongue, Luga-girra [= Luga-urra] has seized him".[118] Tablet XXIX of the Diagnostic Handbook, unpublished, surveys the effects of Lugal-urra (see p. 88f.).

Lugal-urra is one of the gods belonging to the sphere of Sulpaea. An Old Babylonian list of god names offers ^{d}Sulpae, ^{d}I-DAL-IAR, ^{d}Lugal-urra, ^{d}Lugal-udda, ^{d}Bar-ure, gar-ra. The later standard list has almost the same names in the same order, identifying them in a second column as "Sulpaea ..." and continues with a list of five gods all identified as *benna*: ^{d}Lugal-me, Namenna, ^{d}Agagigdu, ^{d}Ga-[illegible], ^{d}Ennurta, ^{d}Sulpe-ta-ra-a. We will not study these names, as they hardly occur in another context.[119] We note that the last two names seem to mean "Lord from the Roof" and "Spawned by Sulpaea".

The name ^{d}Lugal-urra is Sumerian and literally means "Lord of the Roof", and this is what the Babylonians took it to be. A bilingual Babylonian text renders ^{d}Lugal-urra-an-na-sa-bi-ta as *mu-qit bel-ši-ri* [illegible] "fall of the Lord of the Roof". The Akkadian "translation" sees between the two Sumerian words a syntactical link, the genitive, which is not there; it possibly was inspired by known expressions like *muqit bēni* or *muqit šame*. A few times we find this name without the "god" determinative. Is there any real connection between this god and the roof? We can present ample evidence that there is. A chapter in a handbook of omina, giving predictions based on human behaviour during sexual intercourse, gives us this information:

> [If a man approaches (a woman) on the roof, Lugal-urra will seize him.]

A very similar passage has:

> [If a man approaches a woman on the roof, the (demon) Lurker (*rabisu*) will strike him (with a stroke).]

Stroke (*mihṣu*), a close associate of epilepsy, as we will see later, in Tablet XXVII. Lurker (*rabisu*) is the name for those demons that like to lurk in wait for their victims in various strategic places, the bathroom (this name is Šu-ak) or on a canal (we will meet them later in this book). One may safely assume that the Lurker on the roof has the name Lugal-urra. This is confirmed by an entry in the the diagnostic handbook telling of an alarming pregnant woman:

> [If the woman is ill and her hands are put on her skull and do not come down, the Hand of the Lord of the Roof. Ditto, the Lurker of the Roof will hit her, she will die.][120]

The flat roof of a house can be a dangerous place, especially during the night. Hemerologies — texts about lucky or unlucky days, full of taboos — warn a man not to ascend the roof on certain days, because the female demon *arḫat lili* could "marry"

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

him.[125] An unpublished diagnostic text, fragmentary, says that an ill person "was hit by a 'roof-hitting'; he will die."[126]

An Old Babylonian bilingual lexical text defining various "people" lists among persons with a defect (crippled, etc.) a man "hit by the Lord of the Roof" (*ma-ah-su-um be-el a-n-um*). This is the translation of a Sumerian expression literally "fallen by (?) the wall" (*a-ne gar-ra-da-a-sub-ba*). We have to take the Sumerian "wall" (*ga-ra*) seriously but before discussing it we will turn to the Syriac New Testament.

The Lord of the Roof has a fine parallel in the Gospel of Matthew as translated into Syriac, which has not been noticed before. The epileptic boy healed by Jesus is said to be possessed by "the Son of the Roof" (*bar eggara*, Matthew 17:15), an expression not understood.[128] The same demon is met in the Aramaic incantation bowls and, under the name *Ritpai* in the Babylonian Talmud.[129] Clearly the Babylonian demon of epilepsy lived on in Syriac lore under a very similar name. W.H.Ph. Romer came very close to this solution in a footnote commenting on a line in a Sumerian literary text speaking of "one who was thrown into a well, one who was thrown by the Mar of the Roof (lú-ùr-ra-ke₄ šu-šu-ub-ba)."[130]

Something ought to be said now on the word "roof" in Syriac, *eggārā*. This word also exists in the Aramaic papyri found in Egypt, but means there "wall," just as Akkadian *igarum* does; both words are of the feminine gender.[131] In cuneiform syllabic writing the Aramaic word is attested in the phrase "a knot from a wooden (?) wall" (*ka-ta-a-mu-u gi-ir-ra-ah-ha-a*), a translation of a Babylonian magical offering "you will take a knot of straw from a wall" (*ka-ar-ra-ti ša-ši-ib-bi* [SIG₄ *teleqqe*]).[132] About this confusion between wall and roof the following comments have been made: "It is possible that we are dealing with a very old culture word taken [from Akkadian] into Aramaic meaning the entire superstructure of a building..."[133] We indeed saw the same confusion when we read the entry in the bilingual text: "wall" in Sumerian; "roof" in Akkadian. When we visualise the large residences made of rushes used by the ancient Sumerians and still constructed by the present-day Marsh Arabs in Southern Iraq, (especially the impressive *mudhifs*), forming an inverted letter U (or even V), we understand why these people could look at their "walls" and their "roof" as one and the same structure.[134]

[125] *Ma-ah-su-um ša-ma-ar-ka-ni* in *K4R* [illegible] III 26–27, 4 etc.; see *CAD* K 424a.

[126] SIG-ga-a-a SIG-ga (GA.M.K. [illegible]) [illegible] of a man hit by a roof (?)
MSL 12 (1969) 20, Fragment I a.

[127] For the discussion by [illegible] Reisner, "Der Dämon Sohn des Daches in der syrischen Literatur," in *Studia Paranica* XV (1985) [illegible]. See also T.C. Fung, "Demons and demoniacs in the Peshitta Gospels," *The Sabian* 9 (1976) [illegible] who points out in p. 45 that the Syriac text has here *mah pagrā* "spirit of apoplexy," cf. *pagra* in the Mandaic magical texts. Note the demon *gurgāfā* (house of the roof) in a Syriac incantation bowl, *Neue Urkunden* 5, 14 [illegible] 6.

[128] *Pesachim* [illegible] b. The female demon *agrat* in Babylonian Talmud *Pesachim* 112 b is different.

[129] *TLAT* III/1 (1990) 89, commenting on A.W. Sjoberg, *JCS* 25 (1973) 114–164.
As G.R. Driver, *JRAS* (1974) [illegible] pointed out. See for the Aramaic word J. Hoftijzer, *DISO* 4 s.v. gr III, and P. Grelot, *Les araméens. Documents de l'Egypte* (1972) ad no. 32.

[130] For the latest translation of the Aramaic incantation from Nippur, see Wm. Deimann, *ZA AT* 13 (1988) 423 f.; for the Babylonian original, *K4R* 43 rev. 19, see B. Landsberger, *AfO* 24 (1937–1938) 250 f.
S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* [illegible] 37.

[134] See for such buildings Ernst Heinrich, *Bauwerke in der altsumerischen Bildkunst* (1957) I [illegible] 20.

I may be allowed to put forward the suggestion that the Sumerian words for "roof" (ù r) and "wall" (e g a r) are one and the same. If this is true, one has to assume at least that the phoneme *g* was weak. There is more evidence for that supposition: ŠU.UR can be identified with ŠU.GUR[38] and the Sumerian word e g i r "rear, behind" has a few times the form a r (a very nice parallel, or as I feel it, is in "the ox walking in the rear" g u₄ a a r ta[39] and g u₄ e g i r e r a[40]). Is it possible that the occupations I a e g i r (r a)[41] and (I ù).ù r.(r a)[42] are one and the same?

Returning now to Lugal-urra, this god bears in the diagnostic-therapeutic text that we have quoted already the unusual name [d]I u₅ g a l g i r r a.[43] Elsewhere, in another text from the same library in Sultantepe, we again find this name where clearly Lugal-urra is meant.[44] That this is not a mistake made by an unskilled scribe in a provincial town is shown by a passage in a text from the library of king Assurbanipal, again Lugal-girra in a context of epilepsies.[45] In an astrological text we find *benna* and Lugal-girra mentioned together: "There will be *benna* in the land, Lugal-girra will devour (people)".[46] Now, Lugal-girra is a well known god, a manifestation of Nergal, the god of "plague" and exactly "devouring" *akalu* is the activity of Nergal. We hesitate to identify Lugal-urra along such indirect lines with Nergal. Was Lugal-urra not a manifestation of Sulpaea? However, later on we will see that according to the myth "Nergal and Ereškigal" the demon *Benna* was placed as gatekeeper in the Netherworld by Nergal, so there was a connection between epilepsy and the god of plague.

Looking for a common original name like [d]L u₅ g a l e₂ g a r r a, "Lord of the Roof Wall" behind both names Lugal-urra and Lugal-girra is perhaps too hazardous but philological research still has to be done in the relationships between the names of the gods of "plague" Irra, Lugal-girra and Nergal, sharing the element ugur:

- in a bilingual text [d]I r r a is the translation of [d]U GUR, Nergal;[47]
- the gods [d]GIR RA.GAL and [d]IR RA.GAL are closely related;[48]
- an OB Isin year-name gives the variants Lugal-gir ra and Lugal-ir ra.[49]

P. Steinkeller and W.G. Lambert discussed closely related problems in recent articles.[50]

[38] M. Civil, in *Studies for A. Reiner* (1987) 54: Akkad. an *kuparu*; see also P. Herrero, *Thérapeutique* 36.

[39] M. Civil, in *Studies Benno Landsberger* (*AfO* 33) 5; now also in *ZA* 75 (1985) 59 (= *ZA* 2 114 = *AfO A* 2 289).

[40] [illegible] *JCS* 34 (1982) [illegible] no. 8.1.

[41] [illegible] *AfO A* 2 289a; [illegible] *OrA* 3 184 with comm. R. Frankena, *SLB* IV (1978) 239; *BIN* 7 65 = 9 [illegible] *TIM* 5 41 21 [illegible] 18 [illegible] 22.

[42] A.L. Oppenheim in *AfO* 12 (1938) 248; I. Gelb, A. Sjöberg, *JCS* 25 (1973) [illegible] and [illegible] calls a man of low standing "in the rear" (?); M. Sigrist, *RA* 74 (1980) 20. Also in *PBS* 8/1 45 II 8; *TCL*. 11 156 29 (= 2 [illegible]).

[43] *STT* 1 89 (= 3 136).

[44] *STT* 2 308 15.

[45] R. Borger, *Studies Erica Reiner* (1987) 74-99.

[46] *ICA* Suppl. 1 1 32, with E.F. Weidner, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* VIII/4 (1931) 34.

[47] *STT* 2 97 [illegible] and duplicates.

[48] P. Steinkeller, *ZA* 77 (1987) 165; W.G. Lambert, *BiOr* 30 (1973) 356 and 36 (1979) 16 f. — Note also the god names [d]L u₅ g a l [illegible] and L u₅ g a l u₅ ù r r a, *RlA* V 11 506. According to B. Meissner and F. Kocher we have to read Lugal-urra in "The Hand of Šù r r a" in *LKU* 58 2 = *BRM* 4 [illegible].

[49] C. Th. Fervenza, *A Contribution to the Early Babylonian Calendar* (1983) 14 note [illegible]. Note the polemic between W.G. Lambert and P. Steinkeller in *ZA* 80 (1990) 45-48, 58-59; it is difficult to follow Steinkeller in equating the god with Bêl-gaṣir known as a god in the Diyala region.

[50] See the preceding footnote and also *ZA* 80 (1990) 49-59.

Lugal-amaspae

The other, less well known, god of epilepsy was Lugal-amaspae. He is not attested many times and most often we find him in long lists of demons and diseases. There he is closely associated with the various kinds of epilepsy that we know already: Lugal-urra, an.ta.sub.ba, *benna*, Lugal-amaspae.[48] In the opening section of Tablet III of the handbook *Utukku lemnūtu* he is the last in a long list of demons closing in on a man walking on the street and his name is rendered *benna* in the interlinear Akkadian version.[49] He is named the evil god in a nearly-an Tablet XIV of the same handbook in a passage where we find him after the gods of the Netherworld (Ereškigal, Ištaran and Gilgameš and before Nergal, "Lord of the Flood".[50]

Only one therapeutic text mentions Lugal-amaspae: this god "seizes" a patient and a very short prescription follows; the next entries indicate what to do if an.ta.sub.ba falls upon a man.[51]

What does this Sumerian name mean? Probably "Lord of Jasper".[52] Later on, in the discussion on amulets (Chapter VI) we will see that the stone "jasper" is the most important amulet against epilepsy.

Lugal-nam.en.na and *Benna*

Two gods with Sumerian names identified as Akkadian *benna* have already been mentioned: Lugal-nam.en.na (Gugal.da) = *benna* = *magu*[53] and also Lugal-amaspae.[54] The evidence for the equation Lugal-amaspae = *benna* is the best of the two.

Lugal-nam.en.na is equated with *be* [*en.na*] in a lexical text; he goes determinative (lacking) [illegible] as the gods Lugal-me and Nam.en.na are.[55] A Middle Babylonian exorcistic text refers "[D]ir.tur.tur = *Lulû nu'u ša* u₄.nam.en.na = *ne-ba-ra-ra-bu* [illegible] *lilitum*, *lilitum* (incubus and succubus) and *pastum* follows.[56] It is unfortunate that I cannot identify the Akkadian word or name with which u₄.nam.en.na is equated. The context makes clear, however, that interrelated demons are meant, possibly those threatening the life of a baby. The element u₄ could mean "demon". As to the Sumerian word nam.en.na, Lugalzaged stands for epilepsy of a slave in an Old Babylonian letter.[57] It definitely does not mean "lordship"; rather, the en.na reminds us of the last element in the well-known disease en.na.ne.ne.ba, "incubus", or in UD.DA.RI.EN.NA.[58]

[48] *RLAM* 5.466 (L); cf. *BBR* 45 (L) with F.A.M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits* (1992), 6, 5.11 (L).

[49] *CT* 16.5 (L); after R. Borger, *BiOr* 26 (1969), 166b. A translation was given by R. Labat, *Les religions de l'Orient ancien et moyen* (1976), 40.

[50] F. Scheil, *Sphinx* 2 (1898), 8 (L); acting on a cf. *HKL* 1, 54, with the translation "god *benna*" (duplicate: *CT* 17, 15, 31).

[51] Sp. II 947 (L); see also [illegible].

[52] M. Krebernik, *RLA* V (1980), 458 (L), suggests Kon g strabicio here (sic rendered Lugal-ta-u-).

[53] *CT* 4, 5; see also the discussion of *magu*.

[54] Izbu I, 68; *benna* with the determinative for gold.

[55] MSL 17, 65; Diri Anuga V, 6b.

[56] An-Anum 5.1.7; see *RLA* VII, 49 (s.v. Lugal-me).

[57] *JCS* V, 9; IV, 9-36.

[58] *AbB* 5, 190(+), with note by F.R. Kraus.

[59] *CT* 4, 6-22.

Bennu is occasionally a god in Akkadian texts. The myth "Nergal and Ereškigal" records that the god *Bennu* was installed as gatekeeper in the ninth gate of the Netherworld, Dizziness (Sidānu) in the tenth, Miqlu in the eleventh and Lord of the Roof in the twelfth gates.[160] They belong to the fourteen "diseases" brought down from heaven by the god Nergal when he took residence in the Netherworld: the myth wants to explain their presence there, although to our feeling they are not all deadly – maybe they are lingering "chronic".[161] The second passage is in the diagnostic handbook where we find as a diagnosis "Hand of god; *Bennu*, deputy of Sin; he will die".[162] Elsewhere a diagnosis is "Hand of *bennu*" (here, the "god" determinative is lacking), "demon, deputy of Sin".[163]

Bennu is here associated with the moon god Sin; there also is a connection between the moon and Lugal-amaŝpae (which will be discussed in Chapter VI). This provides us with another link between Lugal-amaŝpae and the epilepsy called *bennu*, so it seems.

It is surprising that the god Lugal-amaŝpae occurs so rarely in the texts whereas *bennu* is so frequent. Was *bennu* too general to allow an identification with a very specific demon? Note that *bennu* and Lugal-amaŝpae are kept separate in the long lists of diseases and demons.

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160 *EA* 357-70, 73.

161 C. E. von Weiher, *Der babylonische Gott Nergal* (1971) 86 f. The latest discussion of the myth will be found in M. Hutter, *Altorientalische Vorstellungen von der Unterwelt* (1985).

162 *TDP* 234 24.

163 *BAM* 3 202 rev. 7; duplicate 311 53.

III EPILEPSY WITH OTHER AFFLICTIONS

The context of epilepsy

Several times we saw how the various kinds of epilepsy occurred together as a group and this group can be regarded as part of an even larger group of diseases. Modern medicine gives epilepsy a place in Neurology. The Babylonians did not, of course, and it will be interesting to see in what context they placed epilepsy. The "long lists of diseases" already referred to are our primary source of information and a sophisticated text from Late Babylonian (Seleucid) Uruk should grant us a deeper insight.

But first it is important to see in what context the ancient Greeks and Romans viewed epilepsy. Their later writings give the most systematic treatment and they invariably locate the origins of all these kindred diseases in the head. *Soranus*, as transmitted in a Latin version by Caelius Aurelianus, discusses in his *On Chronic Diseases* Book I the following topics: headache (cephalea), darkness before the eyes (scotoma), incubus, epilepsy, madness (mania), melancholy, paralysis, twitch. *Aretaeus* of Cappadocia in his book on acute diseases: phrenitis (= meningitis), lethargy, wasting (marasmos), apoplexy, epilepsy (V 1–5) and in his book on chronic diseases: headache, darkness before the eyes (scotoma), epilepsy, melancholy (VII 1–5). *Posidonius*, as cited by Aetius of Amida in Book VI, wrote on phrenitis, lethargy, catalepsy, heavy sleep (carus), coma, darkness before the eyes (scotoma), madness (mania), melancholy, lycanthropy, nightmare (ephialtes), epilepsy, dullness. *Paulus* of Aegina III 4–6: headache, phrenitis, erysipelas, lethargy, seizure (eclampsia), heavy sleep (carus), scotoma, epilepsy, melancholy, madness, nightmare, lycanthropy. *Hemeros* of Italica: headache, phrenitis, lethargy, epilepsy, paralysis, melancholy. *Galen* warns women against dyeing their hair with the wrong ingredients: the resulting cooling of the brain might lead to apoplexy, epilepsy, deep sleep (catalepsy), lethargy, heavy sleep (coma), and sudden catalepsy.

This categorisation is partly rational, partly traditional. Relating apoplexy and epilepsy with the head must have seemed obvious when ancient man saw the consequences of brain damage; furthermore, epilepsy can have symptoms of apoplexy. In this, the medical writer was rational. Folkloristic elements, like incubus or nightmare, look more traditional, going back to superstitious imagination and it is not surprising that similar lists of interrelated diseases could be drawn up for folk medicine in 20th century Palestine.[4] They are treated all together in Babylonian "taxonomy".

The groups of epilepsy-related diseases in the Babylonian texts are usually not very telling. There they occur as a small group in a long list of demonic diseases as can be seen from a few relatively meaningless passages. We give some examples:

Jackson, Legrand, *La maladie de Lance* [illegible]; J. Hirzberg, *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie* [illegible]

[illegible] Th. Puschmann, vol. I 464–467. Book [illegible]

[illegible] Kajbin, vol. XII 262 [illegible] 13. Cf. Danielle Gourevitch, *Le mal d'être femme: la femme et la médecine dans la Rome antique*, [illegible]

[4] T. Canaan, *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel*, [illegible]

An incantation priest (conjurer), on his way to the sick patient, has to anoint himself in order to ward off the demons threatening him. We have an incantation for this purpose followed by a recipe for the salve to be used. In the incantation formula the exorcist claims to be a messenger of the gods and tells the demons to be gone. The subscript to the text says "Incantation against the devil (*galla*), the Lurker, Lugal-urra, Provider-of-Evil, evil *alû*, a n.t a.š u b.b a, and whatever evil there might be, in order not to come near to a conjurer." The incantation itself enumerates these demons and some more.

A lengthy apotropaic ritual for "blocking the Foot of Evil in the house of a man" intends to prevent the evil coming from bad portents from entering the house.[6] It starts with a long list of all possible mishaps, not only those disasters that the ritual wishes to avert. In this very general list we find Hand of the God, Hand of the Goddess, a n.t a.š u b.b a, Lugal-urra, Lugal-amaspae.[7]

In the second tablet of the magical instructions *Bit mesen* the god Luga-gerra — in fact embodied in two figurines at the door empowered with apotropaic force — is addressed twice in order to chase away demons.[8] In the first prayer it is said "I installed you, Luga-gerra, in order to eradicate Provider-of-Evil, I invoked you against *utukku lêdu*, Lurker, Spirit (of the dead), incubus, succubus, *kattullu*, evil *bennu*, Hand of the God, "Spawn of Šulpaea" and a n.t a.š u b.b a, any Hand of a Spirit (of the dead), the god of a father or the goddess of a mother, whatever there is, against the sorceries of a god or the god of a man, that have been told to pass by NN (leaving him unharmed)."[9] This looks like a wholesale list of demonic forces.

Elsewhere we can observe that the group of epilepsies were inserted afterwards into an already existing list: Lugal-urra, a n.t a.š u b.b a, *bennu*, Lugal-amaspae, Hand of a Goddess, Provider-of-Evil.[10] At the beginning of another text a n.t a.š u b.b a and Lugal-urra appear in one manuscript and are omitted in the other.[11] They return in the ritual prayer but there they have been added later, together with other demonic attacks — as the scribe wanted to change the original incantation against black magic into a prayer to the gods who had sent these diseases.[12]

A number of clay tablets, all duplicates, give incantations for eradicating three groups of diseases. We already have met the "fall" (*miqtu*) from heaven in the first group, and noticed that "fall" in the second group has nothing to do with epilepsy. In the third group there is a long list: illness, "fall", *šibu* fever, *arakku*, the demon of jaundice, feverish shivering, depression, chill, incubus, *bennu*, seizure, dizziness

[6] *KAR* 31 (esp. lines 34 f.), with E. Ebeling, *ZDMG* 69 (1915) 89-92; cf. A. Falkenstein, *LSS* NF 1 (1931) 28.

[7] Thus the interpretation of F.A.M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits* (1992) 91 f., 93 f.

[8] Wiggermann, 92 D.

[9] *BiBi* 45 f., with O.R. Gurney, *AAA* 22 (1935) 42, and F.A.M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits* 6.

[10] Cf. Wiggermann, 59. Wiggermann, 136 seems to mean that tablets I-II are against potential danger and tablet III is against present danger.

[11] G. Meier, *AfO* 14 (1941-44) 42-43, 33-40.

[12] *BAM* 5 468:8 f., introduced by an unexpected *šumma*.

[13] *KAR* 26 1 (Ebeling, *ZDMG* 69 96-103) compared with *AMT* 96 2, 2. — This observation invalidates J.V. Kinnier Wilson's complex "diagnosis" given in *Studia Bernh. Landsberger* (1965) 29 f.

Line 38, with the analysis by T. Abusch, *JCS* 37 (1985) 91 f.; see already W.G. Kunstmann, *LSS* NF 11 (1932) 96 f.

[14] Thus T. Abusch, *Babylonian Witchcraft Literature. Case Studies* (1987) 45-60.

- nocturnal fear (*hugallu*) - Provider-of-Evil. These examples should suffice for the moment.[10]

But there are texts that are more specific about the manifestations of epilepsy and the diseases that were closest to them according to Babylonian perceptions. We already get a general idea from the texts prescribing amulet stones against epilepsy within the context of amulets against other demonic attacks. Those are: Any Evil, the evil *alû* demon, gnashing one's teeth – quivering in bed – stroke,[11] Once dizziness follows,[12] and on two occasions mental disturbance (*šuši têmi*).

A text from Assur is particularly helpful for our investigation because it gives in a very systematic way a survey of the tasks of an Assyrian (or Babylonian) conjurer. There, we find this entry:

- Remedies against a n.t.a.š.u.b.b.a, Lugal-urra, Hand of the God, Hand of the Goddess, Hand of the Spirit (of the dead), evil *alû*-demon, incubus, Provider-of-Evil, Hand of the Oath, Hand of Man (= sorcery) and remedies against [...]

It is possible that in this particular entry the shared (?) "remedies" determine this group as one group.

A late text about fumigation as a remedy starts with: "If an n.t.a.š.u.b.b.a, Lugal-urra, Hand of the God, Hand of the Goddess are upon a man ... the reader will notice the same sequence as that in the text from Assur. A duplicate text gives as extra: Hand of the Spirit (of the fiend). ... The commentary on these lines made by the Babylonians themselves explaining the expressions that interest us is especially important:

an.t.a.š.u.b.b.a: "the sick person is choking and discharges his saliva all the time" (*mar šu ub tan-naq-q[u] [illegible] šu* SI.BÙ.BÙ-*ba*)

Lugal-urra: "he turns away (?) his right eye and his left eye" (Lugal-AN.ŠÈ-*ra* [illegible] *šu i-kup-pu-ru*)

Hand of the God: "he curses the gods, he speaks insolence, he hits whomever he sees" (DINGIR.MEŠ-*nam-zur šu-ut i-qab-bi-ma im-mar i-mah-hu*)

Hand of the Goddess: "he has ... of heart, breaks, time and again ... and forgets his own words, time and again" (*ina-ša-a* [illegible] ZA.ÀM.ŠÈ.GÁ.ÀM [illegible] *šu-ut* [illegible] INIM.MEŠ-*šu im-ta-na-as-si*)

Hand of a Spirit: "his ears ring, he [illegible], time and again (*tepû*), his teeth do not come close to food" (GEŠTU[illegible].MEŠ-*šu* [illegible] DU.MEŠ *ma-gal-a-te ne-pe-ši-in-na-šu ana ma-ka-ši-e la i-qar-ra-bu-ma* [illegible])

These explanations look at first sight like "definitions" but they unfortunately are not. A glance at the diagnostic handbook will show that different symptoms for the same illnesses are found there. Although those ancient learned Babylonian commentaries

[9] *SpTu* [illegible] Schroeder, *LKA* [illegible] see *MSL* 9, 105 [illegible] and C. B.F. Walker, *BiOr* 26, 1969, 27a; *BASH* 4, 38 [illegible] 6, 8.

[10] More in W. Farber, *BL* 2, 1977, 56–64; 4, R. Borger, *Studies Ernst Werner*, 1987, 7–9, 97–100. Cf. also the long list in Maul, *HG* [illegible] 6, where we have a supply to the exorcist's [illegible] 58 *Lugal-urra*. For manuscript offering dingir.[illegible] *KBo* 2455 [illegible] Text Assur.

As in *BAM* [illegible] 56, 372 [illegible] as in the same area in 364 and 400; cf. F. Kocher, *AfO* 20, 1963, 156–8.

[8] *bAM* [illegible] 376 II, 5 (ÉD.NA.NA.GÁL.MEŠ ša NA.[illegible].MEŠ-*šu*).

[11] Write as KA.ÙB.KÚ.RA, *BAM* 4, 326 [illegible] *AfO* [illegible] 4.

[12] *KAR* 44 rev. 13–17, with J. Bottero, *Mythes et rites de Babylone*, 1985, 83–104, [illegible] 634 [illegible] 7.

[13] *AMT* 55, 5 I.

[14] *bRM* 4, 57 I, 4.

can often be off the mark there are elements of truth in these explanations which can be discovered. In the discussion on *a n ta sub ba* and *Lugal-urra* we already saw that "saliva" and "movements of the eye" could very well be their respective distinctive features. Hand of the Goddess again has the symptom "heart-break" in two other passages in the diagnostic handbook,[24] and ringing (*šasū*) of the ears certainly is one of the principal characteristics of Hand of a Spirit: spirits of the dead were thought to enter the head through the ear.[25] Hand of a God can be a disease of newborn children, as we will see later; here it obviously is an adult abusing God and man — a unique description in a way reminding us of the symptoms of the Gilles de la Tourette disease.

Our general conclusion is that only a few features of the five diseases were singled out by the commentator. The grounds for his selection are not always clear to us.

What comes closest to an epileptic attack according to our definitions, is a passage in an incantation to be recited by a patient suffering from a seizure by a spirit:[26]

> "The wind of an evil word (?) has blown into me, an evil Lurker has been put upon me and chased me all the time; he smote (*mahāsu*) my skull and (then) I have bitten my tongue; he smote my legs while my arms were tied; he fell upon me and knocked me (down) (*unqutannima idi pannī*)."

Only twice in cuneiform literature do we find biting the tongue in a description of an attack, here also in a deviating diagnostic tradition. It is remarkable that we never find this as one of the symptoms among those of the various epilepsies listed in the canonical Diagnostic Handbook. Its editor may have been aware of the accidental nature of tongue-biting during a fit, so to him perhaps this was no meaningful symptom. Note that other possible concomitant symptoms are not mentioned either: foaming and urinating.

This text is directed against a "roaming spirit (of the dead)" that has seized a man (*etemmu murtappidu ubassu*). The symptoms of the seizure are given at the beginning of the text and do not resemble those given by our passage; only the symptoms of lancing (*ummatu ramatu*) have a little in common with our passage. We assume that the incantation text was a separate charm against the evil Lurker, inserted in our text. He may be that "roaming spirit" after all, because the "wind" blowing into the patient probably stands for a spirit.[27]

The German excavations in Uruk yielded an unparalleled, unique text written at the time of the Seleucid kings.[28] F. Köcher realised its importance. This text distributes 36 or 37 diseases over four parts of the body where they originate ("are from"). Such a view on the physical origin of disease is new.[29] The parts of the body are: the heart, the [illegible], the lungs, the kidneys. For the second organ, hard to read on the clay tablet, Köcher suggests the mouth of the stomach (*pi karši*), but as several of the diseases originating in this organ are diseases of the head, "the head" (or a part of it) seems to

[24] *AMD* 12b.43: *hiṣṣa hir-ibbi* (?) et *libbašu ittenappešu*. *STT* I 91: 26 f. and dupl. (Tablet XXVI 24).
[25] R. Labat, *RSO* [illegible] 1948: and see now the Babylonian commentary *SpbTU* III 26b rev. 1'-10'; 5.
[26] *CKA* 86 rev. 5'-7'; par. 88 rev. 4'-5'.
[27] *STT* 89-94 (= [illegible]): see Chapter V.
[28] W. von Soden, *AfOr* III (1952) 1-5: *šēdu* 7 d: *šēr sēn* "Totengeist".
[29] *SpbTU* [illegible] no. 43.
[30] F. Köcher in: Christa Habrich, etc., Eds., *Medizinische Diagnostik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift für Heinz Goerke zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, 1978, 7-89, esp. 22 ff.

be more likely.[31] From the kidneys come diseases that have to do with the urinary tract, including sterility. Students of the history of medicine may be tempted to see in the four organs the seats of the "humours" so well known from Greek science: the heart (blood), the head (phlegm), the spleen (water, later yellow bile), the gall (black bile). They may conclude that there were Greek influences in this Late Babylonian text, but such a conclusion seems rash.

The first section of the text, listing the diseases "from the heart", include the types of epilepsy. "Heart" (*libbu*) can be the heart, but very often means in a general way "intestines" in the abdomen, with the "upper side of the heart" (*eṣ libbi*) the Babylonians meant the epigastrium. In contrast, the "lungs" stand for the organs of the chest.[32] The following five diseases are said to spring from "the heart": heart-break, a.n.t.a.š.u.b.b.a, Hand of the God, Hand of the Goddess, *bennu*, Lugal-urra. We easily recognize the usual list of epilepsies and closely related diseases but "heart-break" (*hip libbi*) is new to us. This is naturally a disease of the "heart" according to its name, but there are more texts that group it together with the epilepsies which was suggested above, where heart-break was seen to be a symptom of Hand of the Goddess; below fumigation will be seen to serve for epilepsies and heart-break.

Melancholy

The historian of medicine, who will be aware that there is a close relationship between epilepsy and melancholy in Greek and later medicine, may be inclined to see in "heart-break" something similar to melancholy. This problem is worth pursuing.

"Melancholy" originally was a Greek word meaning "black bile", a concept fitting in the gradually developing Greek theory of the four humours in the human body already mentioned. People suffering from an excess of black bile are the melancholics (another, originally Latin, word is *atrabilious*).[33] Melancholy always has been considered a corporal disease that can be cured by the normal therapeutic means, including the usual *materia medica*. To the Greeks, the plant black hellebore was the most important remedy. Babylonian "heart-break" is similarly regarded as a disease subject to the same cure as the others. Epilepsy, too, is caused by too much black bile, according to a pseudo-Hippocratic writing: the blood goes bad, the flow of air (?) through the veins is hampered and as a consequence the patient suffers from epilepsy or a stroke.[34] Plato wrote that black bile mixed with white phlegm vitiates the "divine" brains and this is

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[31] This would require at least one emendation, like SAG instead of KA, unless we may read *ka ti ta kattu* "the crown of the human skull" (cf. K 834b, adduced by refs. *RAM* 22, *HG* [illegible], *SAT* [illegible]). An emendation SAG ŠA for "epigastrium" would be more in line with K. Scheil's proposal.

[32] Note *ṣerru libbiya* "the construction in the abdomen vs. chest" *AHT* 1.132 distinguishes "the lungs" (ll. 61) from "the epigastrium" (ll. [illegible]).

[33] Note that in a lexical list of persons a man "whose heart is broken" is followed by persons suffering from nervous troubles: *MSL* 12, 96 (ll. 85 ff.); [illegible] B 149.

[34] The classic on melancholy is the book by R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, and F. Saxl: *Saturn and Melancholy* (London 1964). We used the updated new German edition: *Saturn und Melancholie. Studien zur Geschichte der Naturphilosophie und Medizin, der Religion und der Kunst*, übersetzt von Christa Buschendorf (Suhrkamp Verlag 1992).

[35] Hipp. *Regimen*. Appendix VII, Littre II 406. R. Joly, *Hippocrate* VI/2 (1972) 7.

why epilepsy is of a "sacred nature."[8] Later texts tell us time and again that epilepsy is due to an excess of black bile.[9] Epileptics and melancholics suffer from the same disease; the first display the symptoms on their bodies, the second in their minds.[10] In his description of melancholy Galen often adduces epilepsy in comparison and does not mention other mental diseases as an later authors or commentators did.[11]

Thanks to Aristotle melancholy has become a famous respected ailment; he thought that this was the disease of the "outstanding" or "eminent" (*perittoi*) among mankind (incidentally, it has been suggested that this idea may belong to Theophrastus and not the great philosopher himself).[12] He compares its effects with those of drinking wine depending on quantity, quality, etc. At the beginning of his discussion he makes a remark on melancholy and epilepsy taken up by the Renaissance humanists but not elaborated upon by himself. We quote this influential passage:[13]

> Why is it that all those who have become eminent in philosophy or politics or poetry or the arts are clearly of an atrabilious temperament (*melancholikoi*), and some of them to such extent as to be affected by diseases caused by black bile, as is said to have happened to heroes among the heroes? For he appears to have heard of these stories, and how why epileptic (*epileptikoi*) afflictions were called by the ancients "the sacred disease" after him. That his temperament was atrabilious is shown by the fury (*kotasis*) which he displayed towards his children, and the eruption of sores (*helke*) which took place before his disappearance on Mount Oeta; for this often occurs as the result of black bile. Lysander the Laced(a)emonian also suffered from similar sores before his death. There are also the stories of Ajax and Bellerophon, of whom the former became insane (*ekstatikos*), while the latter sought out habitations in desert places (...).

Later we will have more to say about the insanity and the sores related to black bile.

Can Babylonian "heart break" be interpreted as a form of melancholy? The medical texts and Babylonian and Assyrian letters where the expression is quite frequent are helpful. "Heart break" or "to break the heart" were everyday words often used with iterative or permissive verbal forms, meaning "that the heart breaks" time and again or "all the time".[14] In a Neo-Babylonian letter heart break "eats a man".[15] All this shows that it is a chronic condition. The medical texts have heart break in a context

[8] Plin. *Epidem.* VI 5, 5. Interestingly, Hippocrates in his well known *On the Sacred Disease* ascribes this disease to an excess of phlegm, not bile. [illegible]

[9] [illegible] *Rufus von Ephesus, Krankenjournale* [illegible] 1978, 102 [illegible] see XV, [illegible]

[10] Hipp. *Epidem.* [illegible] (Littré V, 154, 5); Cf. W. Müri, *Gnome bei Hippokrates* [illegible] 1960, 18–155.

[11] *De loc. affectis* III, 5 (C. Kühn VIII, 75 [illegible]); see, with H. Flashar, *Melancholie und Melancholiker* (1966) 35.

[12] H. Flashar, [illegible]; Benner/Simon, *Mind and Madness in Ancient Greece. The Classical Roots of Modern Psychiatry* [illegible] 76; [illegible] Ph. J. van der Eijk, "Aristotle's ideas about melancholy", *Mnemosyne* 43 (1990) [illegible]; *Problems* XXX, 1 [illegible] with Aristotle's main ideas about melancholy.

[13] Aristotle, *Problemata physica* XXX, 1 (Bekker 953a 10 ff.), as translated by Jonathan Barnes, *The Complete Works of Aristotle. The Revised Oxford Translation* II (1984) 1695; [illegible] the edition in R. Klibansky, etc., *Saturn und Melancholie* (1992) 50 ff. See for a further discussion H. Bresterfeld, "Galenus", [illegible] 1984, 1954; [illegible] with [illegible].

[14] R. Frankena, *Tākultu* [illegible] 78, 28 (OB letters). Cf. *šup tuklam nasāhum* "to exorcise a heart-break" in the Bilingual Incantation Series, M. Durand, [illegible] in *Mari* 4 (1985) 4, 3 note 232. The iterative form is attested in *STT* 95 IV, 45: "he contracts heart break time and again, day and night he gets fear (*puluhte*)".

[15] *TCL* 9, 98, 5.

of anxiety and fear (*puputtu, puttu, pulahtu, nissatu*)[44] the same is true for the literary prayers, using a larger choice of words.[45] The wrath of the gods is always its cause,[46] and among its remedies are plants[47], amulets,[48] leather bags filled with *materia magica*,[49] and fumigation.[50]

Some passages show how heart-break manifests itself: the patient suffering from the god Marduk's wrath "breaks his heart all the time when at (his) meal, in (his) house he has to do with strife (*sattu*), in the street with quarrelling (*puhpuhhu*)." Strife and quarrelling indeed were conspicuous signs of heart-break, and a psychologist may remark that the man may already have had a bad temper, provoking strife and quarrelling, perhaps unwittingly. Apart from tears, the feeling of being a victim of slander and experiencing bad dreams can be symptoms.[51] There are many passages with a variety of symptoms which could be cited, but one lengthy description of a man confronted with misfortune (*muhru*), not knowing how this could have happened to him, is very clear:

> He has continually suffered losses, losses of barley and silver, losses of male and female slaves, cattle, horses and sheep, sings, pigs and servants dying off altogether; he has heart-break; are (his) agents constantly giving orders but no (one) complying, calling but no (one) answering, the curse of numerous people; he is all the time apprehensive when lying (in his bed), he contracts paresis, he is filled with anger against god and king until his epilepsy [illegible] his eyes are hanging down, from time to time he is apprehensive, he does not sleep day or night, he often sees confused dreams, he often gets paresis, his appetite for bread and beer is diminished, he forgets the word he spoke: that man has the wrath of the god and/or the goddess on him, his god and his goddess are angry with him.

The ritual in this text intends to release him, so that his sins will not overwhelm (*kasadu*) [illegible] reach, conquer) him.

This poor man, an emblematic figure like Job in the Bible, has lost everything, plunged into a mental depression, the symptoms of which are listed. Many of them are just allegories [illegible] and not knowing the reason of his misfortune, he ascribes it

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

to divine anger. It gives us an impression of the larger psychosocial and social context of "heart-break". A man has a similar reaction when he looses his family.[83]

A remark ought to be made about a variation of the expression "heart-break", sometimes it is preceded by the obscure word *hu-us, hu-us su, mu-us* or *once hu-u-su*.[84] There must be a genitive relationship between both words: "the [illegible] of heart-break".[85] It is noticeable that we find this combination only occasionally in the medical texts — where a duplicate could omit *hu-us*[86] — but always in strictly literary texts, like prayers.[87] Adding this word *huus* was obviously a matter of style, and we gather from a late Babylonian commentary that, later, they no longer understood this word.[88] Our conclusion is that this variant of heart-break makes no difference for us.

We will now turn to the epistolary texts. "My heart is broken/will be broken all the time" is a frequent complaint in Old Babylonian letters, urging the addressee to take the writer seriously. Often he or she makes this remark when a response with news fails to come.[89] Worry or alarm about somebody else, not necessarily an inherent and persistent feeling of fear, is the kind of mood these writers are in.[90]

The Assyrian letters seem to have a different shade of meaning and "panic" seems to be the best translation. In one letter, full of related idioms, we read:

> (While) all my associates are happy (*hadu*), I am dying of a shattered heart (*kasup libbi*). I have been treated as if I are not keep the watch of the king, my lord; my heart has become backsliding (*nagu*).[91] Indeed, panic (*hu-up libbi*) has seized me, I have become exceeding afraid (*pahhu*). May the king revive my heart just like my equals![92]

An Assyrian royal inscription says that an Elamite enemy "got heart-broken, fled from the land Elam and grasped my royal feet".[93] Again a sudden emotion, clearly panic. There could be reason to study the Assyrian terminology for emotions of the heart, of which we saw only something in the letter; examples are "throbbing" (*tarku*)[94] or the heart being "low" (*šapli*).[95]

[83] *AMT* [illegible] with E. Ebeling, *ZA* [illegible] 955, [illegible] 67 (I).

[84] In *AMT* [illegible] 5, 13: Note in [illegible] K. 5988+ [illegible]. Beyond *Catalogue* [illegible] 252.

[85] In *KAR* 59 rev. [illegible] line and between the two words hu-us there is an error, made under the influence of [illegible] in the preceding line.

[86] Compare *BAM* [illegible] with [illegible] rev. 7 [illegible] 232-14 with 3-2 rev. 27 and *STT* I 95:7; *AMT* 40,2 [illegible].

[87] Reference also in *KAR* 58 [illegible] 5 and *LKA* [illegible] 55.

[88] *GCCI* II, 406-10, with *CAD* H 200b. *hu-us* 471 *tuhsum* in *SpbTU* III 54 no. 62 III 28 is uncertain. As to a possible synonym [illegible] I. Dow, *OrNS* [illegible].

[89] *AbB* I 90 [illegible] with comm. by R. Frankena, *STPIV* [illegible] 230; in letters written to women, *AbB* I 28 [illegible] I 108.

[90] Fear is excluded in *TIM* I = *ABIM* 20 [illegible] where he is disappointed, and not likely in *AbB* I 24-9. Cf. F.R. Kraus, *ZA* [illegible] 38-46. Rest from New Babylonian texts always using the stative [illegible] are *TuM* [illegible] 256-44. Ebeling, *NRAK* 50. Cf. *CT* 54-52 rev. 3. *Baghdad Mitt.* Beihefte 7, 5988+ 13. 7 *Ona sa qui sa GAZ lib-bi ittu-ha* [illegible] 28.

[91] S. Parpola connects in his commentary this verb (form *is-sa-qu*) with Hebrew *nāgāh* in Proverbs 14:14.

[92] *ABL* [illegible] rev. following S. Parpola, [illegible] 264 rev. 9-18. Note that Parpola in his commentary [illegible] p. 5 [illegible] *ABL* 68? = *LAS* 4 [illegible] rev. 18 [illegible]. W. von Soden, *AHw* [illegible] each one in his own way connect the words *hapu* and *tapu* with another verb meaning "to fear", *napu*.

[93] *KAB* VII/2 62 Asb. Prisma A VII 55.

[94] *BA* [illegible] 584 + [illegible] = *LAS* 247 18 with comm. Parpola, p. 242. Cf. *magalta* (or *nakalta*) *is tabbi it ta qin ut atarsis*. *LAS* Commentary [illegible] rev. 3.

[95] *LAS* 231 rev. 5-6 [illegible] 2 [illegible] rev. 8. Dietz *AUAT* [illegible] 969, 5-4. Note *tapu libbi* "depression". *LAS* Commentary 3-2 no. 370 rev. 35: "Lowness of the heart is always accompanied by *dissu sam*". Also in the medical

To summarize: a man with a broken heart can be ill-tempered, suspicious, have a nervous breakdown, be full of apprehensions, be worried or in a panic. He could be called a "melancholic" which can include being a hypochondriac and neurotic. The reader who wants to know exactly what "melancholy" stands for according to the West European tradition, can be referred to Robert Burton's classic *The Anatomie of Melancholy* written in 1621 where in the "Symptoms or Signs of Melancholy in the Body in the Mind" given by Burton Babylonian heart-break symptoms can easily be recognised.

The Babylonians also saw a connection between "breaking of the heart" and gall. The Old Babylonian myth Atram-hasis describes the restless Atram-hasis, faced with the "impending Flood," "the heart was broken (and) he was vomiting (*mu'amu*) gall (*mu'amu*)," a metaphor also known to the much later Assyrians in expressions like "their hearts pound and they vomit gall."

Having established the connection between melancholy and the gall, the question remains: What exactly is "black bile"? In fact, no such bodily humour exists, although the large majority of physicians believed in it for more than two thousand years. Important remarks on the origin of this false idea have been made by F. Kudlien. He contended that "black bile" belongs to the realm of magical thinking. To the ancients, "black" or "dark" intestines conveyed a feeling of depression, as Kudlien shows with passages taken from Homer, Theognis, Aeschylus and Sophocles. The intestines filled with black matter having poisonous characteristics, that is why precisely the black variant of the hellebore was effective against black bile, melancholy. So the idea of "black bile" is sheer magic, also surviving for two thousand years. Later medicine was to denounce this, as Erasistratus and Diocles of Carystus (fourth century BC) were clearly not believing in "black bile." Galen accepts the word "melancholy" and states it is the disease of the epigastrium, around the stomach, as the Cnidian School did. This "hypochondriac" Rufus of Ephesus (ca. 100 AD) wrote a book (now lost) on "epigastric" and "hypochondriacal" melancholy and another work by him surviving in Arabic translation makes clear that melancholy could originate in the spleen or between the ribs.

Did the Babylonians speak of "black organs"? Yes, for them the spleen (*uḫdim*) was "the black heart," as is Sumerogram SAG.GÍ shows.[3] At first sight, this combination means "dense heart," but we can venture to see in it an unusual writing of Sumerian *gi₄-gi₄* "black," note that the very sign GÍ is a combination of *gi₄* and SUG/ZÉ

[1] [illegible]

[2] According to [illegible] see [illegible] note also [illegible] considered in [illegible] "the heart of heart" [illegible] with [illegible] to a medical [illegible] radical [illegible] A. F. Kudlien, "Die [illegible] gall [illegible] as a symptom of a physical disease," [illegible] 1968, 24, no. 85, [illegible] see [illegible]

F. Kudlien, *Der Beginn der medizinischen Denken bei den Griechen von Homer zu Hippokrates* [illegible] 1967, 77–88; note the reference to a lost work by Diocles, *Hippokrates* [illegible] Kudlien, "Schwarze Galle und [illegible] medizinischen Denken," *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 8, 1973, 53–58; [illegible] Bennet, *Science, Medicine* [illegible]

[4] E. [illegible] *Melancholia and Melancholy* [illegible] chapter 3, with Kudlien [illegible] 1967, 82 f.

M. Ullmann, *Medizin im Islam* [illegible] *Handbuch der Orientalistik* [illegible] 1970, [illegible] also [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible] to be medical [illegible] published by M. [illegible] in [illegible] Bibliography [illegible] where Ibn [illegible] spleen [illegible] equated with [illegible] P. Fronzaroli in *Studies on the Language of Ebla* [illegible] 1984, 5.

Another Sumerian word for black is [illegible] the sign [illegible] written with the reading [illegible] or [illegible]. That we have found here the correct interpretation is proved by a passage in an explanatory text:

[illegible] sufferers from [illegible] black heart [illegible]

If a man] suffers from [ku u]ḫ-ki black heart

We can now supply the missing [illegible] and the word [illegible] in the second line. The Sumerian word [illegible] appears here as the equivalent of Akkadian [illegible] and the word sets which we [illegible] the suffix [illegible] to designate [illegible] black [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] black heart [illegible] the black disease [illegible] and adds an explanation [illegible]

The [illegible] Sumerian [illegible] sick heart [illegible] is an obscure disease hard to find — unlike "a diseased finger" — (Coll. 3 127) and adds the saying "May Inanna pour oil on my sick heart" (3 128). We assume that love sickness is meant to be cured by Inanna, the goddess of love. Here [illegible] means "sick" although [illegible] [illegible] not for the sick finger. Black heart [illegible] condition of a sick person [illegible] herbs to be used against it. One [illegible] text shows the [illegible] black [illegible] was recited. The following [illegible] starts by [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] black heart [illegible] [illegible] black heart [illegible] stand for quite the reverse.

The spleen [illegible] black sick heart, in Babylonian thought, was considered [illegible] the seat of feelings [illegible]. According to the Greeks it was the source of black bile and [illegible] black [illegible]. We do not [illegible] the Greeks and the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Hand of the God

The "Hand of the God" or perhaps somewhat less often "Hand of the Goddess" occurs several times together with epilepsy. What do these expressions mean? [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

All this looks [illegible] these expressions [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

However, the [illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the Goddess [illegible]

> [illegible]
>
> [illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]
>
> [illegible]

[illegible] Goddess [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Only two passages in the [illegible]

> [illegible] heart [illegible] broken at the [illegible] [illegible] hasten [illegible] [illegible] loudness [illegible] go [illegible]
>
> [illegible] throwing [illegible] way [illegible] [illegible] does not sleep [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] in the handbook on the evil [illegible] We learn from it that he throws [illegible] man like a net (*alluhappu*). [illegible] understood the mouth of [illegible]

A Neo-Assyrian lette[illegible] eradicate evil *alû* [illegible]

> As regards the rites accompanying the incantation [illegible] which [illegible] of a thornbush on the vault of the (patient's) door. The exorcist dresses in a red [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

show that the [illegible] was personified as a demon and we [illegible] from [illegible] prayer to be [illegible] over the [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] three watches of the night [illegible] when [illegible] [illegible] caused by a Spirit [illegible] disease [illegible] Several [illegible] texts describe the symptoms of a person seized by [illegible] [illegible] as follows: [illegible] Spirit has seized [illegible] grow cold [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and Spirit [illegible] seventy.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Most probably [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] that we would [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Incubus and Succubus

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Mauress

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Possession

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

IV. THE DIAGNOSTIC HANDBOOK

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] texts that actually have [illegible] which can be expected by [illegible] work two [illegible] [illegible] for example our XXVII and XXVIII were [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] will be followed where [illegible] of each of the forty tablets [illegible] the standard of [illegible]

The text of the last chapters is not preserved. We have XXVI–XXVIII, of XXIX there exists [illegible] version with therapeutical prescriptions [illegible] that [illegible] by XXX but this tablet is not known to us.

TABLET XXV.

This tablet was not known to R. Labat when he edited his magnum opus, the Handbook (1951). [illegible] was excavated at Sultantepe, Turkey, and published by O. R. Gurney [illegible] scholarly [illegible] Assyrian provenance. The dated [illegible] script. A [illegible] Neo-Babylonian tablet in the British Museum [illegible] was published by J. V. Kinnier Wilson [illegible] was given by him in [illegible] Reference [illegible] the [illegible]

The transliteration [illegible] is possible [illegible] an attempt to render Akkadian [illegible] English words for the same Akkadian words. The phraseology of a medical text like this one is consistent and should [illegible] with the [illegible] Labat's text with [illegible] Labat's [illegible] was discussed [illegible] the [illegible] Akkadian geography [illegible] exactly which part of the body [illegible] Another very [illegible] examples are the many words for parts of the body [illegible] We should know what distinguishes [illegible] provinces.

Manuscripts: A BM [illegible] Neo-Babylonian. Photos of both sides. J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *Medical Texts* [illegible] 1962, text p. 156. Photo [illegible] J. V. Kinnier Wilson in Francesca Rochberg-Halton, *Scribes and Scholars: A Festschrift for Eleanor Leveen* (Cloken 1982) 482. Copy in M. J. Geller [illegible] notebook B VII [illegible] 287. Neo-Assyrian. We follow the [illegible] A text added between brackets. Lower B.

The tablet discusses the last part of the reverse discussed [illegible] *ittaqqal* [illegible] *ittaqqal*. It is possible that this order reflects successive stages of the disease, so that it ascends from more to more severe forms. Generally speaking, each section lists the concomitant symptoms, introduced by [illegible] and *ummu*. There follows subsequent symptoms, introduced by [illegible] the time that [illegible] *=ummu*.

[illegible]

[illegible] XXV.A [illegible] The colophon appears at the end of BM 47[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

We can simply [illegible]

2 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

4 3 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

possible. The [illegible] changes [illegible] overwhelms him [illegible] in the manuscripts are [illegible] of the text has to [illegible] and better reading [illegible] falls upon him.

5 [illegible]

[illegible] falls upon him [illegible] two, three times [illegible] he becomes yellow-green [illegible] always begin [illegible]

[illegible] yellow-green [illegible] perhaps better [illegible]

6 [illegible]

[illegible] seven times [illegible] he will be saved [illegible] in the eighth time he will not be saved.

[illegible]

7 [illegible]

[illegible]

8 [illegible]

[illegible]

uṣ ṣi ne ṣu i ṭi ṭi qat [illegible] *ṣaqqu ana mat* [illegible]

[illegible] falls upon him and overwhelms him repeatedly seven times on the same day after [illegible] he feels good. [illegible]

He feels good" (verb *ṭābu*) is one possibility. One can also derive it from the verb *edepu* "to blow (away)", with an unclear meaning here, possibly "be bloated", "he is bloated". Murderer is preceded by the [illegible] in A. [illegible] signs are omitted in *TDP* 174:4(!). Perhaps the spirit of a murderer; see [illegible]

Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds. Serious [illegible]

9–10 (9–11) [DIŠ] *kīma* ([GA]M) *maṣṭi* (ŠUB-*u*) *untanaqqussu* (ŠU BAR-*su*) *ana* [IGI MEŠ-*šu*] (B: IGI[!] *šu*) *dama* (UŠ) *mala* [illegible] *pa-ṭir kattan* [illegible] *ilam ušakkir* [illegible] *pattir* [illegible] *ušepissu* [illegible] *ṣi-rat-su ma-ṣa-ṣat ṣi-ṣi-bat-su ṭa-ḫat-su ma-la ṣal-ṭi-ma* [illegible] *ṣaqqu* [illegible]

[illegible] something like [illegible] falls upon him time and again and overwhelms [illegible] he [illegible] are stretched, he collapses (!) when the conjurer arrives, he sees who has seized him. Hand of the spirit of a murderer

Also translated by F. Kocher in *Festschrift für Heinz Goerke* (1978) 78f., instead of "he collapses" for *i-ṭa-bat*, he translates "er völlig apathisch ist". — The [illegible] repeated strokes. Something like [illegible] something like [illegible] something like sleep [illegible] something like [illegible] something like the seizure [illegible] "something like the Hand of a Spirit" are also attested.[1] For "cheek", manuscript A offers the Sumerogram of Akkadian *usukku*, ms. B of *uṣ*: CT [illegible] *i-sa-ṣu ṣu uṣ* (*SpTU* I 89: 2f.) and MS *ZI-ṣu ṣu uṣ-ṣu*[!] (*SpTU* [illegible] 8, possibly comm. on *TDP* 48 E 1[illegible]).

He sees who has seized him" in a dreamy state the patient believes he sees the attacking demon. Symptomatically, he [illegible] when suffering from a stroke (*TDP* 180 = Tablet XXVII [illegible]). [illegible] translated is: "he sees the person that has seized him". [illegible] the patient [illegible] whom he sees. [illegible] displays a trembling [illegible] for this section [illegible] *matāru* [illegible] and *pasāsu*. [illegible] and who seized him [illegible] seizing seizer [illegible] seizer (*sabātu*) [illegible] *ṣunāta-a*. [illegible] translation we followed Kocher [illegible] as was [illegible] Kinnier Wilson suggests: "he looks at the person who seized him" [illegible] most probably the sign [illegible] patient was again fully conscious" (p. 187). In that case *ša ukallitu* is expected.

[illegible] IS speaks of the Hand of the spirit of a murderer [illegible]

Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds. The situation in these lines is again clear [illegible]

[illegible]

11 [illegible]

[illegible] he laughs much and [illegible]

[illegible]

12 [illegible]

[illegible]

13 [illegible]

[illegible]

14 [illegible]

[illegible]

15 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

16 [illegible]

[illegible]

17–18 [illegible]

[illegible]

19–22 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

subject [illegible] impersonal [illegible] meaning that the person loses his consciousness [illegible]. The con[illegible] [illegible] we have the [illegible] against [illegible] studied in Chapter V[illegible]. A conjurer [illegible] [illegible] texts according to [illegible] takes a patient [illegible] when [illegible] to do the same. See also rev. 6, where the conjurer is addressed as "you" and the diagnosis is Hand of incubus.

The same diagnosis also with "fever (?)" added in rev. 9. In *TDP* 34:21 "Hand of succubus of fever (?)"; both are "explained" in the commentary *SpTU* 1 30:6.

Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds on 17–22: Todd's paralysis.

23 (24–28) [illegible] *kabissu* [illegible]

If at the time [illegible] overwhelms him [illegible] is heavy for him and gives him sharp pains; later on [illegible]. When [illegible] and he forgets himself [illegible] will be heavy [illegible] the day.

[illegible] a problem [illegible] overwhelm [illegible] is mentioned here twice [illegible] the time [illegible] and [illegible] mechanically repeated [illegible] Kinnier Wilson suggests instead "torso" (*takammu*) "half of the body". This fits a number of references but in others his translation does not help. For the middle of the day, see also lines 7, 38, rev. 1[illegible] 13. Line 38 shows that we cannot take a n.t a š u b.b a as the subject of the verb [illegible] the day [illegible]

24–25 [illegible] (SU TUKU?) [illegible] *ha-mi-tum* (B: *ha-*[*m*]*e-tum*) [illegible]

If at the time it overwhelms him, his temples hurt him, he is in a state of melancholy; later on he rubs his hands and feet, he is turned over (?), he does not have saliva (variant [illegible]), he is rolling over [illegible] fall (variant "goose flesh"): Hand of the Goddess; it will go away.

[illegible] patient [illegible] rolling over [illegible] the translation [illegible] could be possible [illegible] from the verb [illegible] The first diagnosis [illegible] We find [illegible] The second [illegible] disease [illegible] We find elsewhere [illegible] disease

---

[illegible]

feverish shivering [illegible] disease [illegible] restlessness. Our transcription goose-flesh was inspired by Meissner's [illegible] note on Tablet XXVII 25. "[illegible] *kuranna* [illegible] against both [illegible] *nigu*, [illegible]

Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds: The condition described was probably not epilepsy. Unless the transcription deceives, it was [illegible] epileptic.

26 (28) [illegible]

If at the [illegible] watches [illegible]

(If) watching the arms' in *TDP* [illegible] according to Kinnier Wilson [illegible] ways.

A ruling follows at the [illegible] Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds [illegible]

27 (29) [illegible]

If his seizure always seizes [illegible]

If his seizure is a little surp[illegible] In a quite different entry [illegible] evening. And he hears [illegible]

28 (30) DIS *sibissu* (DIS [illegible] KIN [illegible] *ma-su-u* (DIS [illegible]

If his seizure [illegible] and his feet are raised [illegible]

Manuscript. [illegible] For "feverish", another possible [illegible]

Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds: [illegible] hallucinations [illegible]

29 (31) [illegible] KIN [illegible] *ottassu* (SAMAN [illegible]

If his seizure [illegible] his bowels [illegible] awake [illegible] seizure [illegible]

30 [illegible] KIN [illegible]

If his seizure always seizes [illegible] seizure [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

31 [illegible]

32 [illegible]

33 [illegible]

34 [illegible]

35 [illegible]

36 [illegible]

37 [illegible]

38 [illegible]

[illegible]

39–40 [illegible]

[illegible]

Note [illegible]

[illegible]

Nuevo Wordsworth [illegible]

41–43 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] darkened [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

duplicates line 52 of A, perhaps B 55. B 55–57 [illegible] brackets the exception in A 52 and A rev. [illegible] = B 58. We give what is visible of the text of B. Many readings are not certain.

B 55 [illegible]
B 56 [illegible]
B 57 [illegible]

The reverse of manuscript A opens with the new section

rev. 1–3 (58–59) [illegible] (G) N[-ak] (2) *qāssu* [illegible] *mimmu* [illegible] *abbasu* [illegible] *abbasu* [illegible] *ZI-ab*

If at the time it has seized [illegible] his sa'iva flows in front [illegible] it will be eradicated. [illegible] it will be eradicated.

Squeezing is a symptom of [illegible] palsy. *mesu, pasu* [illegible] the text speaks of [illegible] has seized him" the text continues with [illegible] mental behaviour. The passage ends [illegible] said of the [illegible] "Kicking [illegible] the chapter on "the neck" [illegible] the chapter on "the [illegible] consists [illegible] spasmodic that a "[illegible]

Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds [illegible] though [illegible] is not [illegible] remarked.

A ruling follows in manuscript A.

rev. 4–6 (60–61) [illegible] (SV) [illegible] *pat* [illegible] (G) *naṣu* [illegible] (N) [illegible]

[illegible] has seized [illegible] his [illegible] perhaps [illegible] his [illegible] respiration. Harmful [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] sensation.

[illegible] ruling [illegible]

rev. 7-9 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ruling [illegible]

rev. [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

In both manuscripts a ruling [illegible] the next [illegible]

rev. 12. (67) [illegible]

If his limbs tremble [illegible]

The "limbs" do not [illegible] [illegible] Lagalbanda [illegible]

rev. 13 (68) [illegible]

If his limbs are par[illegible]

rev. 14–15 (69–70) DIŠ *mamma* [illegible] (IGI^{II}-*šú*) *ipteneṭṭenna* (BAD.MEŠ-*ma*) [illegible] (K. 6[illegible]) *alabbat* (KA.KA.[illegible]) [illegible] *mat* [illegible]

If his limbs are qu[illegible] and sees his seizer he talks with him and (then) changes himself. He [illegible] the messenger [illegible]

"like a healthy man" cf. R. [illegible]

He changes himself [illegible]

Kocher, Wissenschaftliche Beiträge [illegible]

rev. 16 (71) [illegible] (K. [illegible]) [illegible] *ipteneṭṭenna* [illegible]

If his limbs are quiet like those of [illegible] talk. Hand of the spirit of a murder[illegible] [illegible] to [illegible]"

Lines 16–17 were translated by Kocher in [illegible] the rev. [illegible] speaking (lit. [illegible]) [illegible] (17) [illegible] Spirit [illegible] speak or with him point to incubus (14–15). We [illegible] speaks (21–22, 35, rev. [illegible] 1, 7) [illegible] (23) and is apprehensive (44–45, rev. 23–25). [illegible]

[illegible]

Ahu-mu-sadi-ness, but such a [illegible] exactly is going on. I can [illegible] though he [illegible] are less specific about [illegible] and see-box like [illegible] and yellow-green eyes. 2. 30. [illegible] 37. [illegible] following sa-wa. 38. These may be preliminary symptoms.

[illegible] informed Gilgamesh that he spirits of those burned in a fire are not in the Netherworld.

rev. 17 [illegible] *ki-ma* [illegible] *sa-ba-ru-ta-ma-ma-qa-ta* B [illegible] *qa-ti-ma-ma* [illegible] *qa-ti-ma-ma-ta-ma-qa-ti-ma-ma* [illegible] *qa-ti-ma-ma-ta-ma-qa-ti-ma-ma* [illegible]

[illegible] those of [illegible] by man and he is [illegible] does not [illegible] [illegible] the spirit of someone [illegible]

[illegible] two small slanting wedges [illegible], manuscript A offers *lamâ*, "other [illegible] the [illegible] evidence of the patient seems to be in [illegible] for the Hand of those spirits.

Ruling [illegible] the following [illegible]

rev. 18 (73) DIS *ina a-a-ti ittanaṣa* (GU GU *ṣa*) *i-leb-bu ni-ta-ṣa* (H [illegible] B [illegible]) *ina pi-ṣa* (KA [illegible]) [illegible] *ittanaṣa* (GU [illegible] AN [illegible] [illegible])

If he shouts "Woe! Ah!" time and again, he makes noises, his saliva flows in/from [illegible]

Woe [illegible] kinnier Wilson and Reynolds see in this "woe" the epileptic cry. The [illegible] however [illegible] symptoms and to [illegible] the [illegible] Hand of Sin.

[illegible] rulings [illegible] the next section. They speak of [illegible] protections [illegible] teeth. The ends of the [illegible]

rev. 19–20 [illegible] *ana-ṣi-ri-ti-ka* [illegible] *ana-ṣi-ri-ti-ka* [illegible] *ana-ṣi-ri-ti-ka* [illegible] *ana-ṣi-ri-ti-ka* [illegible] *bahat* [illegible]

[illegible] and again [illegible] way his garment [illegible] and [illegible] more after he does [illegible] Hand of the Gods [illegible]

[illegible] clothes [illegible] made [illegible] the [illegible] Elsewhere it is diagnosed as "Hand of the Twin Gods" he which [illegible] Those two

[illegible]

gods must be [illegible] and Mesopotamia [illegible] derived from [illegible] Cuneiform reads [illegible] brutal [illegible]

rev. 21 [illegible] KI MIN [illegible] *ša ina qāqqi mal[illegible]* [illegible] *mal* (GAM)

If atto, he makes his eyes pro[illegible]

A evil demon stands [illegible] has a positive connotation: to stare [illegible] also is said of demons.[47] One is [illegible] having a similar meaning. "He [illegible] is translated [illegible] = [illegible] *ḫalmu* is a possibility but is rather unique.[48] A [illegible] If we may translate the first [illegible] either as the demon of the [illegible] Tablet XXVII [illegible]

rev. 22 [illegible] *ša ina qāqqi mal[illegible]* [illegible] (GAM)

If he is trembling all the [illegible] his eyes [illegible] his head and he will die."

Cf. the remarks on the preceding line.

A ruling follows in both manuscripts. The next section deals with [illegible] prescriptive *pattern*.

rev. 23–24 [illegible]

[illegible] which suggests restlessness [illegible] away. In lines 14–15 we [illegible] the same phrase. [illegible] expression for diseases leaving the patient. [illegible] We [illegible] possibility [illegible] W[illegible] tributive [illegible] always [illegible] the sick or the receiver.

Kummer Wilson and Reynolds. [illegible]

rev. 25 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] script between [illegible] the [illegible] *[illegible]* [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

rev 26 [illegible] *[illegible]* [illegible]

[illegible]

A ruling [illegible]

rev 27–28 [illegible] *[illegible]* [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *mušhuššu* [illegible] him in his respected every [illegible]
is not [illegible] good [illegible] Where stay [illegible] that
The [illegible] this word [illegible] shows [illegible]
demon is a "bird". In this respect [illegible]
[illegible] the same [illegible] normally [illegible]
is the [illegible]

A person can be [illegible] the word [illegible]
standing [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible]
him (and) stands at his head" *TDP* [illegible]

rev. 29 [illegible]

"If a wa[illegible] [illegible] stands up
[illegible] he kneeds down [illegible] stands [illegible]

The "Lurker of the waste lands" [illegible]
seizure by a spirit while a bi[illegible] [illegible] spirit [illegible]
him in the waste lands"[62] [illegible]
waste lands [illegible]
heads this Lurker in contrast [illegible]

rev. 30–31 [illegible]
Gl. *šu* A. KA *šu* [illegible] *šu ši-ta-nap-pat šu ši-ta-ma-as pak-ši-ehhema* [illegible] *kakku-ni* [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] every [illegible] every [illegible]
[illegible] will be saved [illegible]

[illegible] Texts of Esarhaddon, line 589 (most recently by K. [illegible]
[illegible] Of the [illegible]
[illegible] passages [illegible] better [illegible]
[illegible] *šerri*[67] We will meet with him again in line 36 of Tablet XXVII. [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] III.
[illegible] 125-6, cf. 25-16.
[illegible] Tied to" *Atlu* 946a. *rakbu* [illegible]
[illegible] XX-II-6 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

A ruling: [illegible] Tablet XXVI and be[illegible] Tablet XXVII. The cuneiform [illegible] XXIV [illegible] XXVI [illegible] XXVI [illegible] XXV [illegible]

rev. 32 [illegible]

[illegible]

rev. 33 [illegible]

[illegible]

rev. 34 [illegible]

[illegible]

TABLET XXXV – XXXVI

[illegible]

TABLET XXXVII

[illegible]

Table XXVII

[illegible]

2–3 [illegible]

[illegible]

4 [illegible]

[illegible]

5–7 [illegible]

[illegible]

8 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

9 [illegible]

[illegible] he will recover.

[illegible]

10 [illegible]

[illegible] down stroke [illegible]

[illegible] the particular text speaks [illegible] hinder parts [illegible]

11 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 12–13 [illegible]

12–13 [illegible]

[illegible] make a prognosis [illegible]

[illegible] the body are exposed [illegible] the left side of the body [illegible] prognosis [illegible] passage concerning [illegible]

[illegible] fragments of a diagnosis [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Ebo XXVI

[illegible]

Mt [illegible] **2–3 ruling** [illegible] The part [illegible] point. We [illegible] 14–16.

14–15 *[illegible]* [illegible]

[illegible] *Mahkhata* [illegible]

16–17 [illegible]

[illegible] Ebo XXVI [illegible]

the symptoms are very much like those observed at the beginning of an epileptic fit [illegible] speak [illegible] in the next entry.

18 [illegible]

[illegible] he does not move his hands, his feet [illegible] has seized him.

19 [illegible]

[illegible] and he throws off his garment time and again, he [illegible] has seized that man.

[illegible]

A ruling [illegible] follows on the [illegible]. The next section [illegible] lines 20–[illegible].

20 [illegible]

[illegible] does not know [illegible]

[illegible] is perhaps possible. We have seen that [illegible] throws the patient down [illegible] (Chapter III [illegible]

21–22 [illegible]

[illegible] his limbs hang down [illegible] he does not take [illegible] of the evil [illegible]

[illegible] was suggested by Landsberger [illegible] sleep [illegible]

23 [illegible]

If something like [illegible] seizes him time and again and [illegible] at the time it seizes him [illegible] he does not walk [illegible] of the evil [illegible].

Manuscript B [illegible] the beginning [illegible] Plate [illegible] line 2.

[illegible] Kinnier Wilson [illegible] Landsberger [illegible] Kinnier Wilson [illegible]

[illegible] meaning [illegible]

A ruling [illegible] follows at the section with [illegible] Mr [illegible] sends here. The next group [illegible] water [illegible] from the river [illegible] equal [illegible] were made by [illegible] names the [illegible] Baker [illegible] the River [illegible]

24 [illegible] AMSN [illegible] *Ntoma* [illegible] *Mapgat* [illegible] MASKMET [illegible]

I where [illegible] water [illegible] up from the [illegible] the [illegible] Baker [illegible] the River [illegible]

25 [illegible] AMSN [illegible] *Mapgat* [illegible] MASKMET [illegible]

I where [illegible] from [illegible] the [illegible] Baker [illegible] the River [illegible]

[illegible] *Khi* [illegible] Line 25 [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] *ntoma* [illegible] [illegible] Here [illegible] Wasserlauf [illegible]

A ruling [illegible] Mr [illegible] Spera [illegible]

26 [illegible] *ntoma* [illegible]

I [illegible] Spera [illegible]

At [illegible] Spera [illegible]

27–28 [illegible] AMSN [illegible] *ntoma* [illegible] *Mapgat* [illegible] AMSN [illegible]

I [illegible] water [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] Spera

Kocher [illegible] Werner [illegible] Water [illegible] Spera [illegible] *HDF* [illegible] water [illegible] the same [illegible] keeps

[illegible]

[illegible] *ntoma* [illegible] *Mapgat* [illegible]

[illegible] Spera [illegible]

[illegible]

29–31 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

MS [illegible]

32–34 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

35–36 [illegible]

[illegible]

TABLE XXVIII

Vrutlong [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

37–39 [illegible]

[illegible]

40–42 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

43-46 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

[illegible] shrubs [illegible] prescribe [illegible] also have [illegible]

47–49 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

50–52 [illegible]

[illegible]

53–54 [illegible]

[illegible]

Issue XXVIII

[illegible]

[illegible]

Blood requires the sign [illegible] Ms. 3 and C [illegible] (MS A)

55 [illegible]

[illegible] the Root Spawn of Supper [illegible]

Spawn of Supper [illegible] most repressive [illegible]

56 [illegible]

[illegible]

We [illegible] Spawn of Supper [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

57 [illegible]

[illegible] Prowler [illegible]

Marauser p.s A.c.e. B.dd. **ruling** [illegible] 57 thus [illegible] D 57 that [illegible]

In theory Prowler et al. could take up [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] The [illegible] *[illegible]* is allegiance. For a few more [illegible] ext

A [illegible] section [illegible] with the patient after having been [illegible] Prescriptions are [illegible] greater [illegible] before [illegible] the issue prognostications of [illegible] book [illegible]

58 *[illegible]*

[illegible] which is [illegible]

[illegible] Resolutions [illegible] by [illegible] A [illegible] B [illegible] A [illegible] B seem [illegible]

59 [illegible] *[illegible]*

[illegible]

[illegible]

60 [illegible]

[illegible]

61 [illegible] *[illegible]*

62 [illegible]

[illegible]

63 [illegible]

[illegible]

64 [illegible]

[illegible]

65 [illegible]

[illegible]

66 [illegible]

[illegible]

67 [illegible] *[illegible]*

[illegible]

[illegible] he sees a turtle-dove [illegible] of him [illegible] large [illegible] to associate [illegible] the House.

68 [illegible] KEMIN *anapa* [illegible] *assumma* [illegible] *Libanum*.

[illegible] he sees a marsh hour [illegible] again, and he was [illegible] lower.

69 [illegible] KEMIN *anapa* [illegible] *hapa sma* [illegible]

[illegible] changes [illegible] House [illegible] was [illegible]

[illegible] stands [illegible] House [illegible] the palace [illegible] the House of the God [illegible] the Sacred [illegible] House of the Gentiles.

70 [illegible] KEMIN *anapa* [illegible]

[illegible] the Gentiles [illegible]

71 [illegible]

[illegible] he sees [illegible]

So [illegible] rivals for such occasions [illegible] House [illegible] preceding lines. [illegible]

From this point [illegible] and it now uses a [illegible]

72 [illegible] KEMIN *anapa* [illegible]

[illegible]

73 [illegible] KEMIN *hapa* [illegible] *in* [illegible]

[illegible]

New [illegible] [illegible] Old [illegible]

74 [illegible] KEMIN *anapa* [illegible]

[illegible]

75 [illegible] KEMIN *anapa* [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

76 [illegible]

[illegible]

77 [illegible]

[illegible]

78 [illegible]

[illegible]

79 [illegible]

[illegible]

Here ends Tablet XXXIX. After a ruling [illegible] Manuscript A ends [illegible] Tablet XXXIX of the [illegible]

Tablet XXXIX

According to [illegible] Nineveh Catalogue, this tablet [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Tablet XXXIX [illegible] Manuscript A [illegible] Dr Frekes [illegible] transcriptions of the manuscripts

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Liber XXIX [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Liber XXX [illegible]

[illegible] Liber XXX [illegible] XXVIII and XXX.

[illegible]

V. A SECOND DIAGNOSTIC TEXT

There were two diagnostic handbooks. So far we have considered only the canonical version edited by Esagil-kīn-apli. The other handbook was [illegible] It appears [illegible] to be an [illegible] and is known from only two fragments: the one from Middle Babylonian Nippur, the other from Neo-Assyrian Sultantepe. The [illegible] published as [illegible] on epsw. I am of the opinion that the [illegible] text with its diverse [illegible] contents [illegible] composed his book in reaction to [illegible]

The first half of the text, badly damaged, discusses bodily ailments caused by various acts of sorcery: Hand of Cutting-off Life (*qāt nikurnadê*) and "Malfeasance [illegible] followed [illegible] of the [illegible] Rituals are [illegible] performed before stars. After the passage [illegible] follows one line with a rubric referring to that preceding section (102): "23(+)th tablet [illegible] series. If you [illegible] heads are visible, so the number could equally be 24, 25, or 26 (the heads look [illegible] to be part of [illegible]

The second half of the text [illegible] the symptoms of presumed attacks [illegible] This section [illegible] off. It is impossible to identify [illegible] with the part [illegible] handbook [illegible] found in the Nineveh Catalogue. The text [illegible] a checklist of diagnoses taken from other texts.

The text begins with symptoms described as "[illegible] As was [illegible] suggested, which [illegible] of the Roof. [illegible] this text must be an unusual way of writing Lugal-ut ra, "Lord of the Roof," the demon that causes epsw. Another idiosyncrasy of this text is the use of the Sumerogram [illegible] *ra'ānu* "wherever," [illegible]

103–108) [illegible] *mātu* [illegible] *phaqqu* [illegible] *pasu* (KA-*šu*) *uptenette* (BAD BAD-*te*) *lāmnu* (LAL-*šu*) (105) *u na-šak*[d] (LÚ.GAL-GIR RA-*šu*) [illegible] *šumma* (BE-*ma*) *enuma* (UD) [illegible] (106) [illegible] *mesu* (A MEŠ-*šu*) [illegible] *šumma* (BE-*ma*) [illegible] (107) [illegible] *mrikku* (KA-DIB-*ma*) *amelu* (NA) [illegible]

[illegible] at the time [illegible] wherever is his right eye [illegible]

M. Scu[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] best ha[illegible] which [illegible]

is full of blood, he opens his mouth time and again, he bites his tongue: Lord of the Roof has seized him. If, at the time [it overwhelms him], the (urinary) flow of his water comes to a standstill, he should discharge (?) before the night and [...]. If the (urinary) flow of his water does not come to a standstill, [...] his illness will last long and the man (...) during the day when being touched (?) [...]."

"To circle", said of the eye, is attested only here. Another text, commenting on a section "eyes" in a diagnostic text, "explains" [illegible] *lam-ma*. Biting the tongue as a symptom of epilepsy is found only here. Did the editor of the canonical diagnostic handbook not accept it as a genuine symptom and omit it in his work for that reason?[7] *Manzazu* (here *ma-za-za*) refers to excrement, be it fluid or solid.[8] Elsewhere we read "he is blocked (*uşşeker*) and his excrement does not come out (*uşi*): Hand of the spirit of a murderer". The by-form *manzaltu* gave some scholars the idea that the Babylonians related this word to the verb *nazālu* "to drip" rather than to *izuzzu* "to stand".[9] It is true that in our passage a translation "flow of excrement" for *manzazu* / *manzaltu* is far to be preferred to just "excrement"; it also would fit the use of *redû*. Or can we take *ma-za-za* as an infinitive "to flow"?

This entry first gives the diagnosis "seizure by Lord of the Roof". This is in line with the style of the diagnostic handbook. It continues, however, by adding two alternatives with subsidiary symptoms, followed by an advice (?) and a prognosis. This replaces the usual short remarks like "he will live", "he will die", and more. The alternatives are introduced by *šumma* "If", written BE-*ma*, as is usual in omina when *šumma* is not written at the beginning of the line.

109–112 DIŠ *enūma* (U₄-DI-*ma*) *imtašlu* (ŠÚ.UL-*šu*) *īnšu* (IGI-*šu*) *ša šumēli* (150) *kīma* (GIM) *pilaqqi* (GIŠ.BAL) [...] [*e*]-*lam-ma* (110) *īnšu* (IGI-*šu*) *ša imitti* (ZAG) *dāma* (ÚŠ) *malât* (DIRI-*at*) *pāšu* (KA-*šu*) *iptenette lišānšu* [...] (111) *u na-šak* ᵈLUGAL-GIR-RA *işbassu* (DIB-[*su*]) [...] (112) *irtenedde* (UŠ.UŠ) [...]

"If, at the time it overwhelms him, his left eye circles like a spindle, his right eye is full of blood, he [opens] his mouth time and again, he bites [his tongue]: Lord of the Roof has seized him. [...] will chase him all the time [...]."

113–119 DIŠ *enūma* (U₄-[...]) [...] (114) *pāšu* (KA-*šu*) (?) [...] (115) *i-ru-ma šu-ta-d[a]* [...] (116) ᵈLUGAL-GIR-RA *işbassu* (DIB-*su*) [...] (117) *šumma* (BE-*ma*) *hīla* (?) (A.KAL) *danna* [...] (118) *na-kud šumma* (BE-*ma*) DA [...] (119) *mūtu* (NAM.BAD) *imqussuma* (ŠUB-*su-m*[*a*] (?)) [...]

"If, at the time [...] his mouth [...] when [...] [...] Lord of the Roof has seized him [...]. If he acquires "strong water" [...], it is critical. If [...], [...] Death has fallen upon him and [...]."

"Strong water" must be a bodily excretion. The Sumerogram A.KAL stands for Akkadian *mīlu* "high water, flood" (here not relevant), *hīlu* "exudation, resin of plants", *nīlu* "semen". In the Old Babylonian List of Diseases [A.KAL] a-ra-ah = *hi-i-lu* follows *za-tu* "sweat".[10]

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[7] *SpbTD* 1 [illegible].

[8] Sometimes the faeces comes to a standstill in the anus, *SpbTD* 136:13 (comm.); *TDP* 106 III 5 [illegible].

[9] CT 23 [illegible] Landsberger [illegible]. The two manuscripts for *TDP* 236:46 offer the masculine resp. feminine forms [illegible].

[10] *MSL* 9 [illegible]. Note that [illegible] reads *a-dan* in this passage, "the natural course of disease". This writing would be most unusual.

120–123 DIŠ *lēssu* (TE-*su*) *ša amīti* (AN.ŠÚ) *arqat* (SIG$_5$-*at*) *ša ṣumelē* (ZÚ.MUN.NA) *ṣamat* (SIG$_7$-*at*) [illegible] (122) *ša sag-qat-su lemna* (ÚR.MAḪ-*su*) *ša* (ŠÀ) *kalbi* (UR.GÍD.DA) *ekrus* (SIG$_5$-*us*) [illegible] (123) *ana mūši* (GÍD.DA.ÁM) *napṭu* (LAL-*ṭu*) *amēla-a* (NA$_4$.BI) *epeṭu* (SAHAR) *kabtāsa* (DUB) [illegible] (123) *ana* [illegible] SIG$_5$-*ka*

If his right cheek is yellow-green, that of the leftis red [illegible] pricks [illegible] him, his mind is not seized, a bit by [illegible] he has been touched during the night. The dust which heavy for that man [illegible] which [illegible] says he will [illegible]

The verb *saqāru* (122–123) is lacking in both dictionaries. What the "heavy dust" refers is not clear. Dust can refer to a skin disease. A child can suffer from being reacted by dust (*kabtāsa epeṭu*).

Note that the two passages on the cheek (124–123, 124–127) look like entries in a work in the section where every entry starts with DIŠ *enūma* (ÚR.GÍD.DA). They are probably secondary simplifications elaborating on what precedes (123–124). They explain the expected *šar bīt ummi* (bīt *ummi* is the form of new scribal independent entries).

124–127 *ašer-a* (ŠÚ-*a*) *ša ṣumelē* (ZÚ.MUN.NA) *arqat* (SIG$_5$-*at*) *ša ṣemēni* (ZÚ.GÍR.RA) *ṣamat* (SIG$_7$-*at*) (125) *ša sag-qat-su lemna* (ÚR.MAḪ-*su*) *ša* (ŠÀ) *kalbi* (UR.GÍD.DA) *ekrus* (SIG$_5$-*us*) [illegible] (126) [illegible] *ana* [illegible] (127) *ušpiṣu* (ÚS.MUN.NA) *ušpiṣma* (ÚS.MUN.NA) [illegible]

If his left cheek is yellow-green, that of the right is red. [illegible] pricks (?) [illegible] his mind is not seized and sweet [illegible] Lord of the Root has seized him, which [illegible] says [illegible] Yellow-green [illegible] that of the right is red [illegible]

128–132 DIŠ *enūma* (ÚR.GÍD.DA) *ḫiṣṣa* (ÚR.GÍD.DA) *ša ṣumelē* (ZÚ.MUN.NA) *ṣamat* (SIG$_7$-*at*) *ša ṣemēni* (ZÚ.GÍR.RA) *arqat* (SIG$_5$-*at*) [illegible] (129) *ša sag-qat-su lemna* (ÚR.MAḪ-*su*) *ša* (ŠÀ) *kalbi* (UR.GÍD.DA) *ekrus* (SIG$_5$-*us*) [illegible] (130) *ana* [illegible] (131) *ušpiṣu* (ÚS.MUN.NA) *ušpiṣma* (ÚS.MUN.NA) [illegible]

[illegible] time it overwhelms [illegible] his head [illegible] his teeth are [illegible] Lord of the Root has seized him. [illegible] yellow [illegible] that of the right is red [illegible]

The entry where the form *ḫiṣṣa* could be [illegible] *ḫiṣṣu* "health" to make a right-left distinction.

133–140 DIŠ *enūma* (ÚR.GÍD.DA) *ḫiṣṣa* (ÚR.GÍD.DA) *ša ṣumelē* (ZÚ.MUN.NA) *ṣamat* (SIG$_7$-*at*) [illegible] (134) *kima* (KI.MIN) *kalbi* (UR.GÍD.DA) [illegible] (135) *ana bānūtisu* [illegible] *ša sag-qat-su* [illegible] *ana* [illegible] (137) *ana* [illegible] *ana* [illegible] (138) [illegible] (139) *enūma* [illegible] (140) *dannu* [illegible] *ana mūši* [illegible] *pāṭ* [illegible] *ṭāb* (140) *ṭāb ka-ta-ta-nam-di*

If, at the time it overwhelms [illegible] his head [illegible] he growls like a dog, his teeth [illegible] his eyes are [illegible] Lord of the Root has seized him. In order to [illegible] you shall not make a prayer to a god.

If, at the time it overwhelms [illegible] his eyes are dark, he [illegible] flows out from his mouth, [illegible] a sob has seized him. [illegible] at the time it has seized him [illegible] ears

M. Jas, *Babylonian and Assyrian Science*, [illegible] Series, [illegible] 98–[illegible]

flow from his eye, he shall seize the heavy cloth of the ritual; you shall not be negligent.

We owe the reading *mašu gal-ta* (n. 135) to von Soden's dictionary. The verb *barum* (137) refers to sounds made by the throat: *pace* CAD *ašarū* (). The negative advice "You shall not make a prognostication" is attested a few times in the diagnostic handbooks. Here it is followed by two alternatives giving subsidiary symptoms which make a prognostication possible. A similar procedure is found in a therapeutic text on wounds (*ummu*): apparently one was to see how the wound developed. The prescription at the end is not attested elsewhere. "He shall seize the heavy cloth of the ritual" in a literal translation would be "he will seize the garment of an important person" (TUG.DU.A.GA.[illegible] = *ubat šubtim*), leaving an unexplained *pa-a*.

141–147 DIS *mišu* (ŠU.GI-*šú*) *i-sa-par* (I) *šapiašu* (NE.NE.DU.A.[illegible]) *patra* (GÍR.[illegible]) *ašrat* (ŠÀ.[illegible]) *ma-ri-ta* (GÍR.[illegible]) *ma-pši* (KA.[illegible]) *ašak* (GÍR.AK) (142) *qatatšu* (ŠU.[illegible]) *epešu* (GÍR.[illegible]) *ta-ḫa-ṭa-am ma-ši-ma* (GIM) *ummen* (UD.[illegible]) (143) *ta-ab-ta-a* (43) *nappa-ši-iš* (AN.TA.ŠÚ.[illegible]) *ištassi* (DI.[illegible]) *šumma* (DIB.[illegible]) (44) *kima* (GANSI) *šam-qa-ti-ši* (ŠÀ.[illegible]) *ana šapli-ši* (UMBIN.[illegible]) (45) *qaqqara* (KI.[illegible]) *ba-as-a-ma-ta* (BA.ZI.MEŠ) *kima* (GIM) *ma-ta-[illegible]* (146) AN.TA.ŠÚ.BA *ma-ši-ši* (DI.[illegible]) *me-l-a-[illegible]* (147) *u-ul-a-[illegible]*

"If his eye squints, his lip is loose, saliva flows in from his mouth, his hands, his feet, his torso (?) he kicks like a neglected corpse, an evil sickness seized him.

If he brays like a donkey, [illegible] the ground with his [illegible] man and a [illegible] head; persons [illegible]: an ta-šub-ba [illegible] his disease ...; he will not be saved.

This corresponds to the first section (rev. 1–2) of Tablet XXVII: "If at the time it has seized him, as he is staring, his eye squints, his lip is loose, his saliva flows in from his mouth, his hands, his foot, his torso (?), the left side kicks like a slaughtered lamb, an ta-šub-ba. If at the time it has seized him, his heart is awake, it will be eradicated. If at the time it has seized him, his heart is not awake, it will not be eradicated."

1–14: we emended what looks like a DAG sign to *sa-par*. It is striking that the same emendation is again required in other instances where *mišu sappar* is meant (*SAT* 1105 [Rev. 1], 1181; *BRAM* 3 112 [Rev. 1]; *BRAM* 5 480 [Rev. 1]; older copy in *JCS* 23 231). The sign Ae can be read as bar, a Sumerian verb well attested in the combination ši-bar (to spread out a net). A commentary has this information: DI-*šú i-sa-par* BAR *sa-pa-ri* BAR *za-a-ri*.[15] Without going into the discussion of sa-bar (etc.) by P. Steinkeller,[16] we suggest the value *sappar* for DAG (BAR) in a verbal form, thus reading *i-sappar*. This must have been a deliberately learned way of writing *isappar*.

We perhaps need an explanation for *ba-as* in line 145. One could think of *qaqqara ka-ši-ba-as*, "he steps on the ground".

148–151 DIS *ungal* (ŠU.[illegible]) *ummaqqassima* (ŠU.[illegible]) *ša-ma-ti kima* (GIM) *alpi* (GUD.[illegible]) [illegible] (149) *i-ta-mu-ši-ši-ši-ši-ši-ši* (ŠU.NU.UL.MEŠ.ŠÚ.[illegible]) [illegible] (150) AN.TA.ŠÚ.BA *i-ši-ši-ši-ši* (DI.[illegible]) *šumma* (DIB.[illegible]) (151) *ba-ka-a* (GÍR) *ar-ḫis ipušar* (DIL.[illegible]) *šumma* (DIB.[illegible]) *ma* (DX.[illegible])

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] falls upon him and [illegible] like an ox he roars, his lips [illegible] an.ta.sub.ba has seized him [illegible] [ ] he will [illegible] stop crying [illegible]]

The first three words are identical with those of Tablet XXXII [illegible] above.

152–158 [illegible]

[illegible] the time it overwhelms him, he moans like a dove, his eyes [illegible] drawn [ ] [illegible] the "bread" of his mouth [illegible] his body [illegible] covered with [illegible] spots (?); (if) at the time it overwhelms him, the vein of [his right [illegible] temple [illegible] you [illegible] with a bronze [illegible] [illegible] his disease will stop [illegible] [illegible] he does not [illegible] 'hitting', his disease will [illegible]

The patient's reactions to [illegible] his temple are indicative [illegible] course of his disease. [illegible] in the Near East, see M. Stol in *Mélanges André Finet* (1989) 16[illegible]

159–166 DIŠ *sibu* (DIB-*su*) *ina ṭabi* [illegible] *ikkal* (KÚ) [illegible] (NAG) [illegible] NAM.KU [illegible] [illegible] (164) [illegible] NAM.KU *le-e* [illegible] (165) *inêtu* [illegible]-*tú*) [illegible] (166) [illegible] *teppuš*[*ma*, (DÙ-*uš*]-*ma*) [illegible]

[illegible] seizes him [illegible] (while) he is eating and drinking [illegible] and is enjoying himself [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible] does not know himself; an.ta.šub.ba [ ] six days before Sin [illegible] you [illegible] his eyes [illegible] before Sin [illegible] you shall perform [illegible] and he will [illegible]

Six days [illegible] top of each other [illegible] stand for "9" proven by *BAM* 2 164 16, cf. 161 V 1. Here we see two horizontals.

167–173 [illegible]

[illegible]

[If a seizure] seizes him and his flesh [illegible] parts [illegible] he acquires [illegible] [illegible] while he is walking; moreover, [illegible] has [illegible] down [illegible] Spawn of Šul[pa'ea] [illegible] has seized him [illegible] his right side [illegible] his illness [illegible] his left side [illegible] his illness [illegible] and [illegible] with [illegible] together with the [illegible] and he will recover.

174–179 DIŠ *ina alak* (GIN) *qer-ri sibtu* (DIB-*tu*) *iṣabbassuma* (DIB-*su-ma*) *enūma* [illegible] [illegible] *qaqqar* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *appatsu* [illegible]

If a seizure seizes him when [illegible] the street [illegible] at the time it seizes him [illegible] [illegible] with the ground [illegible] his eyes [illegible] his nostrils [illegible] [illegible] Spawn of Šulpa'ea [illegible] his father [illegible] his father [illegible] [illegible] the earth [illegible] before [illegible]

This passage has previously been translated by [illegible] [illegible] was [illegible] in the discussion on Spawn of Šulpa'ea [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

180–186 DIŠ *kīma* (GIM) *šanetan* (AN.USAN) *sibtu* (DIB-*tu*) *iṣabbassuma* (DIB-*su*-[illegible]) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

If a seizure [illegible] it seizes him [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] My [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] does not know that he has cal[led] Spawn of Šulpa'ea; it will not go away; you shall burn him with fire to his [illegible]

[illegible] which the [illegible] XXVI rev. [illegible] (Chapter IV) [illegible] this passage is broken. The following words suggest to us that a short passage [illegible] [illegible] recovery.' See the note on Tablet XXVI rev. 23–24 (Chapter IV).

187–191 [DIŠ] *qaqqassu* (SAG.DU-*su*) *pagaršu* (LÚ.BAD-*šú*) *u na-aš kišassu* (GÚ-*su*)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] his body shakes, he [illegible] his neck to the right and the left [illegible] his tongue is swollen, his tongue [illegible] down [illegible] when walking [illegible] important man will have a [illegible]

192–195 [illegible]

If his bone(s) [illegible] compound, or in the [illegible]

[illegible] following [illegible] 47 K [illegible]

196–204 (196) [illegible]

(199) [illegible]

(202) [illegible]

(203) [illegible]

[illegible] who recover.

If he gets up [illegible]

If [illegible] he becomes [illegible] seized [illegible]

If [illegible] Variant: [illegible]

[illegible] he becomes [illegible] the cause of [illegible] An *ahhāzu* demon seizes [illegible]

[illegible]

205–214 At the end of the tablet XVIII there follows a selection of omina diagnosed as by Hand of Sin. Does this mean that the Hand of the Moon god is associated with the preceding epileptoid diseases? No therapies are given.

(205) [illegible] *marsu* [illegible] *ziamarsu* [illegible] *ir-mun ikarsu* [illegible] *sibissu* [illegible] *akkar* [illegible]

"If the body of a sick man becomes warm and becomes cold (and) his sezir changes." [illegible]

This is the first line of Tablet XVIII: see *TDP* 168:106 (catch line) and 168:1.

(206) [illegible]

"If his eyes are suffused [illegible]

Cf. *KAR* 1:22 [illegible]

(207) [illegible]

"If his eyes [illegible] Hand of Sin.

(208) [illegible] *ka[illegible], ut ol ir [illegible] ma ma ma [illegible] pat* [illegible]

"If his left eye is bulging (?) and his cheek is shaken. Hand of Sin.

Cf. *Ta Pas* [illegible] Hand of Sin. [illegible]

209 [illegible] *pussu* [illegible] *ikkasuma* [illegible] *ir-ma ma ta [illegible] pat qa* [illegible]

"If his left forehead hurts him and [illegible] Hand of Sin."

[illegible] *TDP* [illegible] Note that *TDP* [illegible] statuses with [illegible] *naqapu* [illegible] *ikkasuma* [illegible] Or the other [illegible] *naqapu* and *matuh* [illegible] Hand of Sin [illegible]

210 [illegible] *ga[illegible]lut* [illegible] *ut-tamadlah* [illegible] *qāt* [illegible] *Sin* [illegible]

"If he is quivering and he is 'troubled' all the time. Hand of Sin."

Symptoms of a baby. *summa serru ugdanallut u* [illegible] (var. [illegible] *ah*) *qāt Sin, thallu* [illegible]

211 [illegible] *s[illegible]-e-ti ana zikari* (SETA) *u sinništi* (SAL) *šumma* [illegible]

"If [illegible] caused by] sun-heat. For a man and a woman it is the same."

(212) [illegible] *zu ta* (HIR) *la* (NU) *mašši* (TE KU) *qāt* (SU) *Sin* (XXX) *thallut* (AL TI) [illegible]

"If [illegible] he has no sweat. Hand of Sin: he will recover. Otherwise [illegible] old and a young person [illegible]

[illegible] *TDP* [illegible]

(213–214) [illegible] *pat* [illegible] *Sin* (XXX) *u Sin* [illegible]

[illegible] Hand of Sin [illegible]

A rubing follows [illegible] last words of [illegible] are preserved [illegible] "When you approach a sick man [illegible] resorted with [illegible]

[illegible]

VI PROTECTION AND THERAPEUTICS

The diagnostic handbook [illegible] gives remedies against epilepsy, but such passages are highly exceptional. We will now turn to the texts that prescribe [illegible] against epilepsy according to [illegible] terminology and present their [illegible] to the appropriate treatment. Magic performed by prescribed prayers and some are merely magic [illegible] such as they are ritual with prayers. We will first study those.

Magic rites

The first text tells what to do: "Cut a sash for a Provider of the Head of a Spirit for the Head of the Goddess [illegible] the epileptic man. In order to [illegible] these diseases, the exorcist [illegible] has to make a puppet of the disease, to [illegible] way, to dress it in specific garments and to pour oil on its head. "(Then) you shall [illegible] a piglet [illegible] *[illegible]*. Presents [illegible] are to be brought to the Sun-god Šamaš. Later [illegible] be invoked in a prayer [illegible] offering table is to be erected and set on fire and then the decisive ritual act follows. Your [illegible] the corrected [illegible] the sick man's speak, so [illegible] marrying [illegible] *[illegible]* you sever his [illegible] by cutting to them the puppet of the disease(s) three times". What the sick man has to "speak" is the now following prayer to the god Šamaš: the [illegible] relations here are. "Any [illegible] what I have seen in the [illegible] presence, [illegible] was caused by disease and removed [illegible] my body. O Šamaš, in your presence I made him take in marriage (*ahāzu*) a piglet [illegible]." Unfortunately the texts breaks off here.

The interpretation of this ritual is not [illegible]. Firstly, some [illegible] at the beginning of the text are [illegible] stated here but they [illegible] central meaning. Then the reader will be surprised that diseases can be represented by puppets. We know from other texts that diseases can be [illegible] and [illegible] A [illegible] text gives [illegible] example, [illegible] from a text [illegible] of seizures:

> If a man is dizzy (lit. "his face turns around"), his ears buzz, his flesh contracts [illegible] his disease *[illegible]* that man is bewitched, puppets have been made and been entrusted to Ereškigal (goddess of the Netherworld) [illegible]. In order to [illegible] whether their puppets will be made alive, Ereškigal [illegible] to bare pieces.

We assume that the exorcist [illegible] about three grains in the four symptoms [illegible] specific disease symbolises each symptom by a separate puppet. In our text on the epilepsy symptoms have [illegible] been [illegible] with [illegible] diseases which are represented by only one puppet. The fact that these four are so much akin could explain the

A [illegible]
B [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

from the patient by giving her the divorce document [illegible]

The second method is to [illegible] with something [illegible] new marriage: here the texts use the causative form of the verb *aḫāzu* "to take (in marriage)". We see this in our text and also in the ritual against the demon Lamaštu who is married to a black dog. [illegible] The exorcist stages a wedding ceremony between two puppets named [illegible] and "Wife" [illegible] possibly connecting them [illegible] and sent away [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] method [illegible] of demons.

Returning now to [illegible] black dog was the substitute [illegible] dogs [illegible] or grown — in Hittite magic were considered to "absorb" impurities.

The second ritual [illegible] directed against a whole range of epilepsy-related [illegible] but specifically against [illegible] is badly broken. We see that a white [illegible] According to W. Farber [illegible] "If Lugal amaspae seizes a man", and "If an [illegible] has laid upon a man".

Another ritual against [illegible] *bennu*", is very fragmentary. Three puppets of clay [illegible] to be performed before [illegible] Do the puppets represent the diseases?

A special ritual for children with epilepsy will be studied later (Chapter X). Earlier [illegible] in the discussion of the demon [illegible] we gave a translation of a letter describing

---

[illegible]

E. M. Kummel [illegible]

[illegible]

the rituals for eradicating this demon and [illegible] which is relevant here (*ABI* 24). We refer the reader to that section. Some attention will be paid to the rituals against a broad spectrum of diseases among which the epilepsies, often ascribed to devils, which [illegible]. Presumably they are not specifically used against epilepsy.

Materia medica magica

1. Leather bags

Pharmaceutical [illegible] extracted by animal, mineral and human organs used against epilepsy was applied in several ways. It is described not [illegible] medical [illegible] but also as [illegible] because other [illegible] have been revealed by magic. Examples are [illegible] scribed. It was [illegible] in various ways, [illegible] by eating and drinking [illegible] most frequently in leather". This was for the [illegible] at scribe [illegible] way of saying [illegible] leather bag [illegible] such a bag [illegible] *mem* in Akkadian [illegible] as phylactery or protective in Assyriology. We will use the transliteration leather bag. The composition of the [illegible] was given [illegible] the text claims that the [illegible] bags are most [illegible] described in Series [illegible] were: The secret of Lu-Nanna, the Sage of Ur [illegible] baleen [illegible] the well-to-do bags were supposed to have their origin in the realm of [illegible] magic and in [illegible] of the sages. Most recipes, however, give the compositions of the various bags without [illegible] mystery, some are just long lists. These bags were [illegible] the week and were used against a great variety of diseases of which [illegible] epilepsy [illegible] is [illegible].

The first question is why the [illegible] bags were meant to protect the patient (as [illegible]) and [illegible] when [illegible]. The most elaborate ritual for making a magic [illegible] bag seems to [illegible] an answer. It prescribes, by the Hand of a Spirit, epilepsy. Provided [illegible] the symptoms of the real disease, that is to say, the wrath of the gods, [illegible] the leather bag is made (hear wrath) so that fears will [illegible] and [illegible] eradicate these afflictions from his body".[illegible] Maybe this [illegible] discussion [illegible] (or fears/angers) of "disease" in this text, or specifically [illegible] of leather bags used against epilepsy, since epilepsy is [illegible] seasonal, wearing a leather bag seems [illegible] meant to ward off the next attack. The same can be said of the [illegible] bags, but we will

[illegible] *RAVI* [illegible] *KIR* [illegible] *RAVI* [illegible] 54

RAVI [illegible] 478 [illegible] 266 [illegible] Spirit [illegible]

RAVI [illegible] *RAVI* [illegible]

[illegible] *RAVI* [illegible]

[illegible] The word [illegible] phylactery [illegible]

RAVI [illegible]

[illegible] bags are [illegible] of the schema in *RAVI* [illegible]

[illegible] *Infra* [illegible] following. What is [illegible]

Sadly for Cohen, no proof for his theory comes from the only passage in the diagnostic handbook where present plants are given. Most of concern the evil spirit one finds in epilepsy. But, in another Tablet XXXV, A leather bag is to be sewed and hung around the patient's neck in order to save him. [illegible] the respective evil be broadened. It is when we look at a man who is seized by the Hand of a Spirit. The exorcist cannot [illegible] the spirit [illegible] but is the bag around the man's neck. The evil is always there, [illegible] protecting the man against it.

Leather bags were often used in magic to the [illegible] Some texts where the contents of these bags are given [illegible] primarily concerned with epilepsy and related affections. In a New Assyrian letter the writer refers to the bag he was treating baby suffering from [illegible] such a affection: the child [illegible] Today he [illegible] the [illegible] off the stones and [illegible] a leather bag [illegible] this season put this on the child [illegible] [illegible] the baby *[illegible]* and he [illegible] [illegible]

What are the contents of the leather bag in question? The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] When we take a look at the Babylonian Pharmacopoeia, we learn something more. This handbook, named "[illegible]" by the Assyriologist R.C. Thompson, is divided into three columns: name of a plant — the [illegible] — [illegible]. A copy from Nineveh gives the plants against epilepsy after the seizure on snake bites and scorpion stings. We read:

> the herb "[*šakru*] Samas" — [illegible] *benna* — you [illegible] epilepsy without
>
> the herb "root of *urunu*" — herb against *benna* — you wrap (it) in [illegible] wool (and) put (it) around his neck

A similar passage is [illegible] follows. A other copy of a Vademecum for Assur [illegible] [illegible] discussing the various uses of the plant *urunu*, gives this [illegible]:

> the herb "root of *urunu*" — herb against *benna* — you wrap (it) in [illegible] wool (and) put (it) around his neck

So, according to the pharmacopoeia, two plants are effective against epilepsy: *šakru* and *urunu*. The first plant, [illegible] the simple name, is a plant of Nabû, the Scribe-god, a plant that [illegible] lore was identified with *šakru*. And indeed, the Babylonian handbook with lists of medicinal [illegible] gives a description of *šakru* as a plant applied as good against *benna*, the [illegible] evil. When applied as salve. The second plant is *urunu*, [illegible] applied [illegible] wool *[illegible]* and hung around the neck. Was the leather bag used only for a special kind of plants and

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Broken at the beginning; restored with the duplicate from Sultantepe. *STT* I 92 I 17 [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

other material. We [illegible] find this plant as one ingredient in several leather bags against epilepsy.[illegible]

Other passages in the Babylonian handbooks recommend "sea weed" [illegible] to anoint the patient with it and hang it around his neck,[illegible] or hang green [illegible] around his neck.

A copy of this handbook from Sultantepe tells us that the plant [illegible] was to be used [illegible]. When [illegible] the [illegible] compared [illegible] against epilepsy, sometimes together with [illegible]. In one handbook [illegible] seems to be [illegible] of the going away of the falling sickness [illegible] but this interpretation is not certain.

In a later chapter we will see that in Classical Antiquity the paeony, the root of the peony, [illegible] hung around the patient's neck (Chapter X [illegible] "Plants and stones").

2 Stag's horn

A special word must be said about stag's horn as a remedy[illegible] for the falling sickness (epilepsy). One special recipe [illegible] says that horns of a number of stags were to be [illegible] the resulting product was [illegible] powder [illegible] the patient [illegible] the neck.[illegible] Stag's horn [illegible] was also a powerful agent against epilepsy among the Greeks and Romans.[illegible] In the Classical world [illegible] discovery of epilepsy by burning [illegible] stag's or goat's horn and watching [illegible] the goat [illegible] the disease.[illegible] More will be said about this in a [illegible] epilepsy [illegible] but here it is noteworthy that the very first [illegible] the Babylonian commentary on the ritual of fumigation against epilepsy (to be studied presently) explains the Sumerograms for "stag's horn" although it does not occur in the commented text. It is still not clear why the commentator [illegible] this opening [illegible] explanation [illegible] but we now see some connection between fumigation and the use of stag's horn in the epilepsy [illegible]. As to the recipe we shall see below that [illegible] also [illegible] fumigation. Stag's horn [illegible] leather bag and is [illegible] among [illegible] herbs used in fumigation against [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Augustinus [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] fumigation [illegible]

3 Blood

Equally interesting is the role played by blood in the following recipe. The patient is anointed with the blood of a [illegible] a great deal of [illegible]. Again, the end is lost but this salve seems to be effective against [illegible]. [illegible] Hand of a God [illegible] a persistent [illegible] Hand of a Spirit. The last expression suggests the apotropaic character of this treatment. Blood is always thought to have great strengthening power. Blood has been a potent remedy against epilepsy especially human blood. We read this in texts from ancient Egypt and everywhere in the Greek and Roman ancient sources.[51] Special value was ascribed to the last flow of blood of gladiators or criminals who killed this better person of [illegible]. Hans Christian Andersen tells us that after [illegible] people were in the habit to drink a cup filled with the blood of the accused. The [illegible] is [illegible] and saves against epilepsy. Occasionally [illegible] blood of a prisoner (*kamat*)[52] a commentary explains this word by [illegible] variant in the same context refers to blood of [illegible]. Where [illegible] alternatives where the blood of an executed prisoner was [illegible].

Saving with blood goes back to Babylonian or Egyptian [illegible]. Blood could also protect the house:

> [illegible] *[illegible]* and [illegible] [illegible] the door [illegible] the door [illegible] of the house [illegible] the door [illegible] of the door [illegible] of the door [illegible] blood of [illegible] epileptic and he shall [illegible] *[illegible]* the doors, corners, sills as many as there are and he will be well right.

This is reminiscent of the well known apotropaic ritual performed by the Israelites on the night that the "Destroyer" killed every first born of the land of Egypt. They took some of the blood of the Passover lamb and put it on the two door posts of the houses of their houses. As a result the angel of death passed over [illegible]. The parallel is very good indeed but we do not need to look for a parallel. Blood was used because this rite was often used by the Babylonians on similar occasions. It was intended to ward off all kinds of evil especially the consequences of the [illegible]. Blood of a she-goat[53] or a he-goat[54] could be smeared on the door posts. It could be [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *RA* 54 (1960) 73 f. [illegible] with [illegible]. The [illegible]

[illegible] *BMAT* [illegible] both [illegible] play with [illegible]

[illegible] passages *STT* [illegible] and 2 [illegible] ND 5488 [illegible]

[illegible] article by R. [illegible] *[illegible]* in F. Vattioni, *[illegible]* [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] in the royal ritual Hittink *BBR* 26 [illegible] W. Farber *[illegible]* as Read with [illegible] note 2 at the end of the 20th [illegible]

The famous English excavator Henry A. Layard discovered [illegible] the slabs forming entrances in the oldest palace of Nimroud [illegible] marks of black fluid resembling blood which appeared to have been daubed on the stone." He added: "I have not been able to ascertain the nature of this fluid but its appearance [illegible] the Jewish ceremonies of placing the blood of the sacrifice on the [illegible] of the doorway." Layard knew in that time nothing of the Babylonian [illegible] of course.

After the various kinds of blood for protective [illegible] the [illegible] bitumen and gypsum [illegible] the colours black and white. Other texts show that bitumen and gypsum were often used together in similar rites. An esoteric commentary identifies the bitumen (black) and gypsum (white) [illegible] as follows: bitumen is the demon Asakku and gypsum is the god Ninurta. [illegible] Ninurta chases the demon [illegible] and gypsum were used to draw [illegible] [illegible] Asakku and Ninurta and [illegible] the [illegible] gypsum [illegible]

4 Fumigation

Fumigation (Akkadian *qutāru*) is another method of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] The compound [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

These vessels were used in the daily practice of the Babylonian conjurer performing the rituals prescribed by our tablet. This is a most unusual coincidence.[4]

What remains of column I covers "Fumigation of the he-goat (KAS Z[illegible]). We offer a transliteration of the prescription full of unusual words — not very well explained in the commentary text.

> If a n.ta.šub.ba, Lugal-urra, Hand of the God, Hand of the Goddess, is opened, man (for "eradicating" (it)) (this is) its procedure. You take a he-goat, you recite into its right and left ear the incantation "I [illegible] *Lilitu*, [illegible] (and) you slaughter (it). You take (its) [illegible] the pupil of the eye, the [illegible] head and neck, the water of the black of its eye,[illegible] Naphtha, fish of cedar, [illegible] soap plant, seeds of the soap plant, blood of an ox [illegible] hide of the god Kusi [illegible] the god Kuši,[7] — pure incense — lupine (the points) thousand worth, twenty worth[illegible] [illegible] you [illegible] fumigate her [illegible] live [illegible] Subscript: Fumigation of the he-goat.

Recognizing incantation into the ear, slaughtering the he-goat is a well known procedure in Babylonian rituals. The first line of the quote Hertz looks like a very pompous brangan, incantation, of no interest to us.[8] Much of the *materia magica* is unknown. Lilitu is quite obvious, the hide and [illegible] the god Kusi [illegible]. We will eventually demonstrate that there was a special relationship between epilepsy and the goat (Chapter XI).

Fumigation was a [illegible] but we cannot study it here. We are [illegible] to say what [illegible] pure incense (KA[illegible]) [illegible] the number of the prescriptions [illegible] however, the *materia magica* was [illegible] fumigation was used [illegible] the spirit of the dead figures prominently.

Fumigation was also used in the treatment of convulsive children, as will be shown later (Chapter X).

5. Amulets

Precious stones were used as amulets, strung on a bread or hung around the neck. We possess a great number of prescriptions and descriptions of such strings (*tarm*

[illegible]

KA.ŠA.AN.KU.SI (?) *ša-lat* AN.KI.SE [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

bikkhu kuruvaka sappiyo. They were used for a variety of purposes: this protection man[illegible] [illegible] Sri Lanka, where the gem *pindu* will serve as an example.

> *pindu*, whose head is stretched has the appearance of a cumbersome seed, amount[illegible] [illegible] a stone of speaking [illegible] being used. Then [illegible] the goal of making pass [illegible] a heavy flood [illegible] [illegible] approaching man.

This stone is supposed to have three qualities. The first stone achieves positive result to [illegible] answered by the goal. Other amulets have similar [illegible] recognized with a good reputation with regard to success in social [illegible] [illegible] happiness and harmony. The second quality is negative: [illegible] of laziness. One might [illegible] a public [illegible] feeling every study. Death [illegible] directly approaches unless so that [illegible] diseases should not approach a man.

The second and third qualities of amulet stones are interesting [illegible]. They are prophylactic: the amulets were used to prevent happy events from [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] the medicine [illegible] which stones protected against which events. Stones were used in very general way against any evil. One [illegible] [illegible] power. Objects intended to prevent the dreadful consequences that pertains[illegible] [illegible] strange words, having bad dreams, and sky dreams [illegible] and armed [illegible]. The reasons of such contents were only [illegible] *kuruvaka* and some stones were [illegible] [illegible] the goal. Amulets were [illegible] used to [illegible] the best example is the stones [illegible] being around the heads of a pregnant woman exposed to the demon Lamasu. They could [illegible] successfully [illegible] by [illegible]. Thanks to stones she could recover from the consequences [illegible].

Not every protection stone or gem could be used as a [illegible] amulet. Some amulets can be found in the medical corpus. To take one unexpected example, the

[illegible]

[illegible] *BAM* 4 [illegible]

[illegible] *BAM* 4 [illegible]

[illegible] *BAM* 4 [illegible]

[illegible] *BAM* 4 [illegible]

[illegible] *BAM* 4 [illegible] III 7 375 [illegible]

[illegible] *BAM* 4 [illegible]

[illegible] *BAM* 4 [illegible] *AMT* [illegible] *BAM* 4 [illegible] II 68 [illegible] *BAM* 3 [illegible]

[illegible] *BAM* 4 [illegible] *VT* [illegible] Against bleeding *BAM* 3 237

[illegible] *BAM* 4 [illegible]

[illegible] *VAT* [illegible] together with sorcery [illegible]

stones the Semitic [illegible] were standing [illegible] specimen supposed to avert evils. They [illegible] stones.[illegible]

[illegible] be explained as an important [illegible] supernatural event. When [illegible] diseases against diseases we [illegible] drawn [illegible] perhaps. When [illegible] the leaden tags we were confronted with the same problem and there we suggested that tags were used against *[illegible]* diseases. [illegible] good example [illegible] the text [illegible] Amulets were used [illegible] see how [illegible] suggest [illegible] diseases. [illegible] "heart break" and [illegible] night. These [illegible] few so it seems [illegible] expected [illegible]

Some specimen stones we [illegible] *[illegible]* and [illegible] but there are passages which explicitly [illegible] but the [illegible] *human* [illegible] A few [illegible] specimen [illegible] the [illegible] on the right hand or the left foot.[illegible] where we see [illegible] against [illegible] few so [illegible] few to conclude [illegible] the tags used [illegible] "Middle Ages."

[illegible] stones [illegible] specimen [illegible] stones [illegible] used against [illegible]

[illegible] white and black *[illegible]*

Another list [illegible] stones [illegible] stones [illegible] against [illegible] four stones are used against *[illegible]*

[illegible] [illegible] When we read in [illegible]

[illegible]

šarpū — we can be sure that our standard lists are meant.[108] Only one text with stones against an [illegible] Daughter of Anum (= Lamastu). Lugalurra etc. seem easily deviates in not having any of these stones. Were they meant for new-born children?

6. Jasper and the Moonstone

It is especially interesting that the standard lists all give *aspu* as the first stone, a.o. preceed the lexical tradition equates Sumerian NA$_4$ AMAS PA.E with both *aspu* and *abnu benu* "stone of *benu*". There is a direct link between this stone and *benu* is made. This is worth investigating, especially because one of the demons of epilepsy is called "Lord of AMAS PA.E".

What stone can this be? The Sumerian and Babylonian words sound such that they might go back to common *Kulturwort* that also may be discovered in Greek *aspis* "jasper". Modern jasper is "opaque chalcedony commonly dark red, red-brown, or yellowish-brown, sometimes with tiny divers hematite or goethite particles".[109] Babylonian "jasper" (*aspu*) looks different. An inscribed chalcedony bead dedicated by an Elamite king of the 12th century has been found, its colour is pale-blue and the inscription says that it is made of "jasper of Puralsiš".[110] The Babylonian handbook with descriptions of stones compares *alpu* with "a clear sky" and, in the next line, with "a cloudy flooding".[111] Two shades of blue seem to be appropriate. The lowest of the three "heavens" is made of this stone.

The lexical tradition knows of various kinds of this "jasper", we already saw how Babylonian stone-lore discerns two shades of blue. A Neo-Babylonian list distinguishes four:

"*aspu* — *aspu* — which shows the crescent of the moon" — *alpū* "which shows [illegible] *aspu* — which shows [illegible] NA$_4$ AMAS A.E[illegible]

The first and the last entry state [illegible] and the same stone *aspu* in NA$_4$ AMAS PA.E are simply the Babylonian and Sumerian words for this "jasper", respectively, as dictionaries and other texts show. A similar sounding stone NA$_4$ AMAS M[illegible] A.E (= *amasma*) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

be distinguished from it, as both stones are named in sequence in a number of texts and this stone has the descriptions like sunrise [illegible] like sunset.

Three entries speak of the aspu that "shows" something, an expression that is used for some other stones [illegible] described as showing something [illegible] a red colour. [illegible] has shown [illegible] we cannot read [illegible] red colour in the damaged signs of the second and third entries and we unfortunately have to [illegible] These two variants of the stone may be very rare because in the texts we never find any kind of *aspu* showing something except the *aspu* mentioned here as the first variety, that "showing the crescent of the moon". Maybe the two extra ones showed some [illegible]

What could a jasper showing the crescent of the moon [illegible] be? A Babylonian commentary on an astronomical text does not help much. The [illegible] passage [illegible] the word [illegible] *aszu* [illegible] jasper [illegible] the crescent, which [illegible] the moon god Nabu which is [illegible] We know from other texts that [illegible] saw the god Nabu in the moon [illegible] Marduk [illegible] moon. [illegible] Another possible connection between jasper and the moon could be the fact that king Assurbanipal had made a cylinder seal of jasper to be hung on the neck of the statue of the moon god Sin.

More light comes from Classical sources. The Greek and Roman handbooks on the virtues of stones list jasper (*iaspis*) and the moonstone (*selenites*) together. [illegible] that the moonstone comes from Arabia. St. Augustine knew that the moonstone comes from Persia. [illegible] Of these two [illegible] jasper [illegible] effective against epilepsy [illegible] that [illegible] Persia according to Max Wellmann. The Babylonian Zachalias or Zachalias dedicated a book on gems to king Mithridates [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Max Wellmann [illegible]

the Assyrian [illegible] as quoted by Xenocrates and Pliny may have passed an [illegible]

[illegible] We have already seen that the gem was supposed [illegible] and Persia [illegible] the report is true [illegible] in Arabia [illegible] We [illegible] the name [illegible] the moon [illegible] with the waxing [illegible] ever saw such a gem [illegible] the moonstone [illegible] however [illegible] moonstone [illegible] powers [illegible] the waxing moon [illegible] the Byzantine [illegible] book [illegible] the moonstone [illegible] power [illegible]

We now know that the mysterious moonstone was [illegible] variety of [illegible] Such was the [illegible] the Byzantines [illegible] and magical texts show [illegible] in the Classical world.

A [illegible] We will give here [illegible] the moonstone [illegible] charm books.

[illegible]

Varieties of orthoclase adularia [illegible] with a bluish opalescent play of colors are called *Moonstone*. Moonstone is sometimes supposed to grow in [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] are believed to be responsible for the appearance of some moonstones.[illegible]

The blue glow is caused by the interference of light from the [illegible] transparent layers.

Even though the gem is not fully transparent, it which is [illegible]. Generally it is [illegible] displays a blue glow when [illegible] [illegible] glow most given the [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

VII TIMING

The Babylonian experts in magic paid much attention to lucky and unlucky days. We have a few texts that indicate for every month of the year round which days are propitious for curing what specific disease by magic. The oldest text dates from the time of the Assyrian empire and at its beginning in the seventh month, the very month here, is one that interests us. Line 11 records the exorcism of an evil demon, a demon who is to do all in his power to make the patient suffer. Line 12 says: "Day 28 is the day of exorcism. Hand of a Spirit, you will be successful."[1] Such a propitious moment seemed the right time in Akkadian *ummanu*. But the 8th month named Arah was not important for curing epilepsy and related diseases.

> In month Abu, days 1–10 is the right time for curing. Curing of the *Lamma*-demon, day 28 is the right moment for curing. Hand of a Spirit, you will be successful.

Lugal-gir-ursi-dingir was an Babylonian scribe of the Reed House, as we have seen when studying his version of epilepsy. Day 28 of the 8th month is a great lucky day. It is the first of the two or three moonless nights at the end of the month, which are usually known as the days for ghosts to appear, but at the end of this particular month the 8th is also the moment of the annual Akitu festival, a celebration of the New Year. Just as at the end of the fourth month Lamashtu, the love of the goddess Ea, Lamashtu appearing from the Netherworld, was supposed to take away with him a great disease to be presented to Ea, so at the end of the sixth month, Abu, it was the appropriate moment to serve down spirits. The purpose of the rituals was to end diseases caused by ghosts or the spirits of the dead which, it was considered, were activated by sorcery. We know that this was a time when the spirits of the dead were believed to be "stirred up".[2] The spirits of the own family were of a great help in driving those three away, while the sun god Samas and the judge of the Netherworld Gugalanna were supposed to help.[3] The end of the month Abu was also the right moment to counteract evil sorcery (black magic), the witches were seen well in the Netherworld, its spirits having with them Any Evil. Our text says 28 Abu is the good moment for exorcising "Hand of a Spirit and epilepsy related illnesses. There is no evidence that epilepsy could be caused by black magic, so we can not say that epilepsy associated with the spirits of the dead here. Again it must be emphasised that a correct appreciation of the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] be often taken as separate [illegible] or spirits of the [illegible] in Mesopotamia [illegible] book still to be written.

The contents of the Assyrian text reappear in a new garb in texts of the early Seleucid period. What is new is the link with the Zodiac. [illegible] 400 B.C. the Zodiac with its twelve signs [illegible] of the twelve months was accepted in Babylonian astronomy. These two younger texts relate the [illegible] of the moon [illegible] 30 degrees of each sign. Every sign is [illegible] divided into 12 sections, [illegible] having the name of the Zodiacal signs, thus [illegible] zodiac. The [illegible] of this scheme [illegible] Greek astronomy [illegible] going back to Babylonian [illegible]. By this system it is possible to compute [illegible] given longitude [illegible] degree [illegible] aspect [illegible]. Obviously [illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible].

[illegible] texts [illegible] the [illegible] for the epilepsies [illegible]

[illegible] Spica [illegible]

[illegible] Virgo [illegible]. The second [illegible]

[illegible] Virgo [illegible]

[illegible] Virgo [illegible]. Why he should have given the [illegible] of the epilepsy is not clear.

[illegible] we are witnessing the birth of [illegible] in this development from the simple Assyrian [illegible] to the sophisticated Seleucid texts [illegible] Zodiac [illegible] *mathematica* [illegible] was to play a great role in ancient, medieval and Renaissance medicine.

[illegible] text of Seleucid times also assigns diseases to the [illegible] Zodiac [illegible] Virgo [illegible] disease. The [illegible] *bennu* [illegible] *rapadu* [illegible] Marduk [illegible] *bennu* [illegible] Sirius [illegible]

[illegible]

epilepsy. We see the connections but view the remark as a [illegible] very useful explanatory [illegible] by the scribe. Two entries towards [illegible] Daughter of Anu [illegible] Lugal [illegible] are assigned to the area of [illegible] as [illegible] Orion. The first entry on the reverse, now following, is: "Area of Gemini: a.n.ta.šu.ub.ba and Lugal urra". As an explanation of [illegible] Gemini: Lugal urra, the Mesarra [illegible] literally means "twins of Lugal" and the Sumer great [illegible] of the Babylonian [illegible] about the same meaning, "great twins". Lugal urra and Mesarra are [illegible] the Babylonian pantheon: their "Hand" was [illegible]. Now we see that Lugal [illegible] Lord [illegible] Rich, demon of epilepsy, [illegible] Lugal [illegible] and [illegible] Spirit [illegible] located in the area of Leo (month VI), as we had expected.

At [illegible] the same period of [illegible] in [illegible] Zodiac sign. The text [illegible] the order of the signs [illegible] has [illegible] Capricornus. It is better in the area of Capricornus [illegible] which [illegible] thirteen women and new-born babies, as we have seen elsewhere (p. 48).

[illegible] these two Lagaš texts [illegible] the positions of the [illegible] the planets which is essential [illegible] At any rate, the planet Lone Mudak, Sulpaea and [illegible] seen. This was [illegible] the expression "Spawn of Sulpaea" for epilepsy. The chapter on astrology in the early Assyrian handbook of astronomy Mul.Apin, where [illegible] the [illegible] of Jupiter [illegible] Mars [illegible] Jupiter [illegible] seeing the [illegible] *Apagga* [illegible] *Anunna* [illegible]

[illegible] *TDP* 76 58, 65; *SpbTU* I 34 23 (*spit* [illegible] *Sl* [illegible]

[illegible] incomplete horoscope predictions [illegible] We direct [illegible]

[illegible] *SLT* 2 33; rev. 19 and dupl.; see H. Hunger, D. Pingree, *MUL.APIN. An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform*, [illegible] Graph [illegible] and Plate X [illegible]

VIII. EPILEPSY IN PREDICTIONS

With "If the planet Jupiter is seeing the body of a man, *benna* will seize him" [illegible] of signal omen we have already supplied to the visitors of the Babylonian [illegible] dreams. A series of predictions [illegible] the appearance [illegible] being [illegible] the [illegible] and the [illegible]. They are [illegible] *annu* to great *annu* [illegible] portents. Astrology [illegible] was [illegible] important role in this [illegible] class of [illegible] another important branch was the study of the [illegible]. We will [illegible] look at the [illegible] epilepsy [illegible].

Astrology is primarily concerned with [illegible] the country in the [illegible] is representative the king. "[illegible] epilepsy will be in the country [illegible] a common prediction [illegible] epidemic [illegible] Mars is expected to [illegible] by the [illegible] Moreover in one region [illegible] of the people [illegible] epilepsy [illegible] possible [illegible] epilepsy [illegible] epidemic [illegible].

[illegible] the planet Venus [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] astrology [illegible] the rising of this planet in the months of the year:

> If Venus in month VII is surrounded by two or three halos [illegible] (the) disease [illegible]

The same [illegible] Venus [illegible] Mars [illegible] Nergal [illegible] god of the Netherworld [illegible] *benna* in Akkadian and Nergal will play a [illegible] we will see that [illegible] epilepsy [illegible] Nergal's [illegible].

Omen of the [illegible] and look [illegible] "*benna* will be in the land, Lugal-girra will [illegible] Lugal-girra can stand for Nergal, also god of the plague. A [illegible] of [illegible] B.C. [illegible] broken [illegible].

Some [illegible] of the [illegible] epilepsy [illegible] epidemic [illegible] to the Assyrian [illegible] This does not [illegible] the [illegible] the entire country, bad people will disappear, the [illegible] will be [illegible] and the [illegible] will be poor [illegible].

[illegible]

based on a historical interpretation of circumstances during the reign of the renowned king Nebuchadnezzar I (1124–1103 B.C.) in view of the fact that his reign is mentioned in this same report. Other astral prophecies based on heavenly phenomena quoted here. The recommended interpretation of this report by H. Hunger makes our problem disappear because he considers "shooting stars" [illegible] "If there is *bennu*-disease [illegible]" as independent omens quoted in this text.

We now [illegible] extispicy.[illegible] Forecasts based on features of a sheep's spleen predict the *bennu* will [illegible] in the sort of the [illegible] text speaks of a *bennu* [illegible] of going away. [illegible] following entry gives for an opposite situation the prediction that the *bennu* will go away [illegible] *bennu* that goes away will fall upon the [illegible]. A model of a sheep's liver found in the capital of the Hittite empire is inscribed with this text:

> If the gall bladder's state of pustules: thirst will seize my troops — or *bennu* will seize the troops.

The two predictions are given as alternatives, [illegible] the place of a private nature. We rarely see a connection between what occurs in the "If" sentence and the following forecast. In the texts here, however, we may see a connection between the pustules on the gall bladder (may already be a reference to "thirst" and "epilepsy"). Why the gall bladder is related to pustules will be seen at the end of Chapter IX (p. [illegible]).

The future of individuals can be foreseen by studying their physiognomy. The third chapter of the Babylonian Book of Dreams and Interpretations investigates the forehead. They recognize in the wrinkles patterns like [illegible] signs. The life of a man and his family was written in these folds. We quote the line that interests us:

> If the sign UR (or the [illegible] there), *bennu* will s[eize] that man.

The same forecast applies when the signs UR or IB are visible. According to the following entry "that man will see UZ (that of [the moon-god] Sin) [illegible]." Is the demon Bennu depicted [illegible]?

The Babylonian Book of Dreams also behaviour was already quoted in our discussion of Lugal-urra: "Lord of the Roof." It is also part of the omen literature: "If a man approaches (a woman) on the roof, Lugal-urra will seize him" — "If he approaches a woman on the roof, the Worker will stroke him with a stroke (*mavādu*)."[illegible] In both cases the demon of epilepsy is meant. In the discussion of human behavior, we read:

> If a man leaves his first wife (*ilmu*) and makes (her) starve, he will get the falling *nagalu* of *bennu*.

The word *nagalu* is unusual and perhaps faulty. It is possible that the sound of the verbal form [illegible] makes starve [illegible] *ubenni* suggests *bennu* to the writer.

[illegible]

IX STRUCK BY THE MOON

[illegible]

In previous chapters we have seen how epilepsy can be [illegible]. [illegible] the word [illegible]. The Oxford English Dictionary gives the following definition of "lunacy":

> The condition of being a lunatic; [illegible] insanity [illegible] supposed to be brought about by the changes of the moon; now applied generally [illegible] usually excepted).

The word goes back to Latin *lunaticus* which in the Roman world had the same meaning as "lunatic" in English. The word itself is late in Latin: we find it in the Digests where a slave is described as *[illegible] lunaticus*, [illegible]. However [illegible] Cicero [illegible]. Unrelenting madness or idiocy is *insania* in Latin. Although the word [illegible] is not mentioned, the Roman poet Horace refers to it in his *Ars poetica* in his list of diseases [illegible] "the irate Diana" (*iracunda Diana*). Diana is a name for the moon goddess [illegible] meant by "the irate Diana".

The story in the Gospel

The Greek equivalent to "lunatic" is *[illegible]* in which we recognize the Greek word for the moon, *[illegible]*. [illegible] New Testament where we find [illegible] Gospel of Matthew, chapter 17:14–18:

> And when they came to the crowd, a man came up to him and kneeling before him said, "Lord, have mercy on my son, for he is [illegible] and he suffers terribly; for often he falls into the fire, and often into the water. And I brought him to your disciples, and they could not heal him." And Jesus answered, "O faithless and perverse generation, how long am I to be with you? How long am I to bear with you? Bring him here to me." And Jesus rebuked him, and the demon came out of him, and the boy was cured instantly.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Cf. Rudolf and Martin [illegible]. Studies [illegible]

Matthew's story is an abbreviation of the original account given by Mark where the boy is described as "having a dumb (*alalos*) spirit" (9:17); the symptoms are clearly those of an epileptic attack: "whenever it seizes him, it dashes him down; and he foams and grinds his teeth and becomes rigid. . . . It convulsed the boy, and he fell on the ground and rolled about, foaming at the mouth." Another version is found in the Gospel of Luke, according to which "a spirit seizes him; it suddenly cries out. It convulses him till he foams, and shatters him, and will hardly leave him" (9:39). Matthew's fondness for using the word "to be diseased by the moon" or "to be epileptic" is recorded elsewhere: "They brought him all the sick, those afflicted with various diseases and pains, demoniacs, those diseased by the moon (*seleniazomenous*), and finally anyone ill he healed them" (4:24). "Diseased by the moon" is a rare word, but it is well attested in the Greek world as a synonym for epilepsy in this context.

Epilepsy, or the belief that it is caused by the moon, is not the only explanation, as Classical medical experts report. Another "dumb" spirit, for example, is the idea that "deaf" and "dumb" spirits cause deafness and loss of speech. Others have contended that the spirit's dumbness in our passage means that the spirit is perceptible only to the exorcist by not making himself known. The Greek magical papyri offer a series of the genitive of blind, deaf and dumb spirits, and it is hard to see how it could fit easily with the second theory. However, as many medical experts point out, some of these papyri prescribe herbal remedies for epilepsy (*epilepsia*) and "fits of the moon" (*selenaismos*).

The story in the Gospels made a great impression upon the Christians.[11] It started with Origen, a second-century Christian Father, who rejected the "physiological" theory of doctors who say that epilepsy has its origin in the brains and follows the moon by sympathy. We, that is, the Gospel, are of the opinion that this disease is worked by evil demons, which enter into and destroy those suffering from it. This view of the cause of epilepsy had a great impact for many centuries to come, and it is now replaced by the spiritual interpretation by the development of scientific thinking. It is also the belief now with Muslims, the newest adherents. The Christians were correct in saying that the moon is not responsible for the cause of disease, and they warned that Satan's demons suggest this only to lower the cure phases in the faithful.[12]

[illegible]

Evidence from the Classical word

Returning now to the pagan Greeks and Romans of the first centuries of our era, we can present the following material on the relationship between epilepsy and the moon. A preliminary observation is that the moon has an influence on the processes of the human body, this is what Origen called sympathy. At full moon there is a plethora of humours and at later times blood letting was preferably done when the moon was waxing. The moon has an impact on pregnancy, at full moon most children are born. Galen wrote in his seventh book *On the Days of Days* that the moon receives its light from the sun. The moon makes fruits swell and keeps beings in good health (*ὑγιαίνειν*). The monthly periods of women watches (*ἐπόχαι*) the periods of the epileptics. Galen linked the moon also to gestation, the recurrent fits of madness in epilepsy, both were associated. Asclepiades, Galen's teacher, has other and more precise predictions: *ἐπιπρὸς* is a man seized and possessed, a demon, he is mentally deranged by fits. *Lunatic* (*σελήνιακος*) of Greek origin (*σελήνη*) refers to those suffering from epilepsy. *Disease of the moon* are those who have fits of madness in accordance with the moon's phases. The word *lunatic* is used here for epileptic persons in general, and we will concentrate now on "diseased of the moon" as an expression for "epileptic".

The Hellenized Syrian Lucian of Samosata explains: "Some [illegible] down in [illegible] by the moon. They were healed by a Syrian from Palestine, one of those scholars who [illegible] this story at the second century A.D. [illegible] the accounts in the Gospels. Aretaeus of Cappadocia, a surgeon in Rome in the first century, who wrote on epilepsy, states that he has to explain the popular name "sacred disease" and he describes the belief that spirits against the moon suffer from it. Horace's exclamation: "Do not scare by Horace" is instigated by madness, and a late scholiast on Greek reports that the common man views epilepsy as a result of a curse, which [illegible]

When we now ask what is meant exactly by the monthly course of the moon, we can hardly expect an epileptic attack. We have to say that now few [illegible] about this. The scholiast just mentioned says: "[illegible] moon. [illegible] and Pliny, when the moon is waxing. Most writers just say that the seizure follows the course of the moon. Other ancient writers are more precise in naming the New Moon or the moonless

[illegible]

[illegible] 19931 38, III 4 2 [illegible] and I. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* [illegible] 95 [illegible] note 1.

[illegible] Sarah [illegible] *Kindling* by Sarah [illegible]

[illegible] This appears also in other seasons, especially [illegible] see W.H. Roscher [illegible]

[illegible] Sarah [illegible] and [illegible]

period [illegible] epilepsy [illegible] the fifth [illegible] of the month as [illegible] observed by the demon. The [illegible] of the month [illegible] part of Roman mythology this was the [illegible] of the [illegible] goddesses of revenge, the Eumenides. A little [illegible] line in Virgil's *Georgics* refers to it (I 276 ff.). It will be no surprise that the Christian authors of the East, writing in Syriac, do not refer to the fifth day: they tell us that the demon of epilepsy is active when the moon is [illegible] the end of the month [illegible] the beginning and the end of the month [illegible]. This is Greek tradition. So we are left with the period of the change of the lunar months as the [illegible] the most [illegible] for epilepsy to attack. This seems to be [illegible] the scanty evidence that we [illegible] gather from the Greek magical papyri [illegible] the papyrus offer "sacred tag[e]" — "New Moon" — "those diseased of the moon". We can use [illegible] chapter where it will be suggested that [illegible] in ancient Greece were [illegible] on the first day of the new month with the purpose of detecting [illegible] this is the time the disease makes itself manifest.

[illegible] New Moon and the Full Moon according to [illegible] given by Dr G.J. van Gelder (Groningen). He kindly provided me with translations of [illegible] passages. A poet wrote [illegible] How come [illegible] is struck [illegible] epileptic [illegible] the new month [illegible] Who [illegible] people [illegible] becomes worse so that they [illegible] even outside their [illegible]. The times for this are New Moon and the middle of the month: in these two periods the sea rises and the water increases. The waxing of the moon [illegible] becomes full has a clear effect [illegible] increase of blood [illegible]. This passage was rewritten [illegible] as follows: [illegible] very harmful to those that suffer from [illegible] to the extent [illegible] the times for this are the New Moon and [illegible] of the month; these two periods are the times that the sea rises and waters [illegible] increase. The waxing of the moon until it becomes full [illegible] effect on the increase of blood [illegible].

The idea that people suffering from epilepsy [illegible] are liable to have [illegible] at New Moon and Full Moon was to have a long history in Europe. Isaac Newton's discovery of the gravitation laws gave this belief a new impulse. The principle of [illegible] seemed to account for lunar influences and it was Richard Mead who worked this out in his dissertation *De imperio solis ac lunae* of 1704 (revised edition 1746) [illegible] the well known Mesmer in 1766. Mead's examples of seizures

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] full moon [illegible]

[illegible] Abd al-Salam Muhammad Harun [illegible] Ahmad Muhammad Shakir [illegible] the Prophet.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *Medicine and Allied Sciences* [illegible] Schneble [illegible]

[illegible] Such the herb [illegible] persisted [illegible] the middle of the twentieth century — by superstition.

Plants and stones

At [illegible] past [illegible] Roman books of [illegible] phases of the moon can be given as [illegible] or tied to [illegible] water. Only the [illegible] New Mexico. One [illegible] known as [illegible] was used [illegible] like a star and was named [illegible] love. [illegible] effective against almost anything — provided it had been sown [illegible] Sacred [illegible] which [illegible] pestilence does [illegible]

The sober botanist Theophrastus had rejected these tales — they apparently were already [illegible] at his time, in the third century BC. [illegible] against epilepsy. Another [illegible]

child when the root of peony was taken from its neck, the child got an epileptic fit.[44] This confirmed its apotropaic use: the root was kept in a leather bag. We find this everywhere in later literature and Galen often is quoted as an authority.[45]

The peony remained an important herb against epilepsy. In traditional Iranian folk medicine it is still used.[46] In Iraq the plant is rarely seen in the mountains.[47] We have seen already that the Babylonians recommended the herbs *sukkiu arana* and *taktinnu* against *benne* and *Lasubba*.

Not only plants but also minerals had to be collected at the right time in order to be effective against epilepsy. Dioscurides informs the readers of his handbook on pharmacology that it is best to collect them in the waxing moon. The stones found in the stomach of swallows and scrapings of the moonstone (*selenites*).[48] One had to bind those swallow stones on the arm and hang the bag around the neck of the arm. These stones were famous for warding off epilepsy.[49]

Small moons of the moon crescent were worn as amulets against epilepsy in Antiquity and they still are in Italy.

The rays of the Moon

One has to keep the fits that are due to the periodicity of the moon apart from the diseases caused by being exposed to the rays of the moon, so Cassius Parmensis. Pliny has a broad discussion on the influences of the moon. Aristoteles speculates on the stream of heat which emanates from it. Those streams loosen and soften the moisture in the bodies. The curses are exceedingly dangerous for exposing young children to the moon. The bones of moisture like green wood, they are crown in spasms and convulsions. Also we see that those who have gone to sleep in the light of the moon are hardly able to rise again like men with senses stunned or dazed. For the moisture poured through them by the moon makes their bodies heavy. The moon was considered very dangerous: most dew descended from it. In contrast, the sun was hot and dry. This is Greek natural philosophy.[52] Galen has very similar things to say on the influence of the moon.[53] Aristotle claims that people very during the first seven days of their lives babies are liable to convulsive spasms. The [illegible] gives them their name, may after he has reserved this week and remarks: They suffer most when the moon is full.[54] Greek magical papyri phrase these beliefs in mythical

[44] [illegible]

[45] [illegible] and Pseudoantonius, Scriptores [illegible] V. Rose, 1894, [illegible]

[46] [illegible]

[47] *Fauna* [illegible]

[48] [illegible]

[49] R. Halleux, J. [illegible]

[50] W.H. Roscher, *Selene und Verwandtes* (1890) 72 f.; *Nachträge* (1895) 29; *Ausführliches Lexikon* II [illegible]

Plutarchus, *Quaest. Conviv.* III 10, 658C-F as translated by P.A. Clement and H.B. Hoffleit in *Plutarch Moralia* [illegible]

W.H. Roscher, [illegible] II, Rubrik [illegible]

Cantenus, IX 903. See also Macrobius, *Saturnalia* VII 16, 75-77 and E.D. Baumann, 214 note 1; Roscher [illegible]

[52] *Fragmenta* [illegible]

imagery, the goddess of the Netherworld, also known as the Moon, strikes man with her light [illegible]. Her rays are arrows. Being blinded seems to be the most probable ailment resulting from this exposure.[57] Epilepsy also is a possibility.

As to Jewish superstition, we simply quote Samuel Kottek: "Regarding the etiology of the disease [epilepsy] it is documented in the Talmud and Midrash [illegible] is stated [illegible] one stands nude in front of a candle, he will be *nikpeh* [epileptic]" (Babylonian Talmud, Pesahim [illegible] 112b). However, we find a parallel statement elsewhere as follows: "If one stands nude in the light of a candle or of the moon, he endangers himself seriously (*damo benafšo*)" (Babylonian Talmud, Derekh Erez 11).

European travellers in Arab countries have similar reports on popular belief in the Middle East.[60] Most telling, however, is a personal experience of one of those travellers:

> Its glare there is so painful, and communicates feelings so disagreeable, that at night a person may be observed sheltering himself from its rays with the same care as he would from those of the sun. The effect of these rays in producing the speedy decomposition of fish and animal substances has never, as far as I know, been attempted to be explained; the fact, all who have been in the East and West Indies can bear testimony to.[61]

It is here appropriate to cite a verse from one of the best known psalms in the Bible, Psalm 121:6: "The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night." We can now understand what the poet was afraid of. The [illegible] commentary on "I walk through the valley of the shadow of death" (Psalm 23:4) says: "This refers to him who sleeps in the shadow of a single palm tree or in the shadow of the moon."

The moon and leprosy

Having surveyed the implications of the New Moon and the Full Moon [illegible] Mediterranean cultures, we are ready to study the relationship between the moon and disease in Babylonia. The moon was god Sin. [illegible] seems to be the first element in the [illegible] word for "night blindness", [illegible]. [illegible] the moon its cause.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] evidence [illegible] as [illegible] many diseases of the black headbone in Greek [illegible] lore.

What has all this to do with the moon? When we first look at the "Hand of Sin" in the [illegible] handbook we [illegible] for a disappointment — just as we experienced when trying [illegible] the meaning [illegible] the "Hand of the God" and the "Hand of the Goddess" — this Hand of the Moon-god is — for us — unpredictable because its symptoms [illegible] display a distinctive pattern.* Only the category [illegible] "Hand of Sin" studied above (p. 128), stands out. We may add that trembling (*ra'abu*) and being shaky (*naštu*) [illegible] parts of the body are other symptoms in a number of cases.** Being alternatively hot and cold without having fever is the more symptom.* The Hand of Sin also affects [illegible] new-born babies: the baby is extremely restless [illegible] trembles. A baby can also suffer from being knocked down (*nakpu*) or hit (*mahsu*) by the Moon-god[97], the first expression is unique, the second is rarely used for the Moon-god. We have seen that in the European tradition babies are particularly in danger of being struck by the moon.

After this survey of various lunar influences we have to come to a conclusion. What does "struck by the moon" stand for? Epilepsy, leprosy, or what?

The most elegant hypothesis for viewing the various diseases of the moon is the following. When the moon is *full*, man is exposed to [illegible] rays and, when unprotected, he runs a great danger of contracting an abhorrent skin disease like leprosy; blindness is also possible. When the moon is *new*, or rather during the moonless nights at the end of the month, an epileptic fit caused by demonic powers threatens him. Here the connection with the moon is indirect: the moon is a [illegible] and the spirits of the dead [illegible] active [illegible]. Superstitions known to Hippocrates or the [illegible] Xenophon of Ephesus have it that these spirits or heroes [illegible] epilepsy (p. 51). The Babylonian demon of epilepsy, the [illegible] *Bennu*, is [illegible] leprosy of Sin, which seems to illustrate the indirectness: the Moon-god, not being present in disease, sends his messenger. At the beginning of this book, discussing *bennu*, I was suggested that this variant of epilepsy, some which [illegible] at [illegible] because [illegible] [illegible]

Epilepsy and leprosy have more in common. Both evoke fear [illegible] the [illegible] which [illegible] which we [illegible] consider [illegible] at the end of chapter X.

[illegible]

X. EPILEPSY AND PEOPLE

In this chapter we will discuss the ways society coped with epilepsy. First we will give a short survey of how they handled this disease in children; then [illegible] more lengthy section how [illegible] slaves, and finally some remarks on the feelings [illegible]

Children

Epilepsy often [illegible] manifest [illegible] stage of life. There are [illegible] stories of [illegible] suffering from it; one example is that of the [illegible] boy in the Gospels. The Spartans washed their newborn in wine in order [illegible] if they were [illegible] epilepsy (*epipiptoi*) or sickly. In that case they were to be disowned. Since the disease may [illegible] every being was dear to [illegible] that for medical writers this was an interesting problem: what changes in human physiology [illegible] this? Hippocrates had an answer,[2] Aristotle gave a strange one, and Galen wrote [illegible] tractate about it, mainly dietary.[3]

In the Babylonian texts there [illegible] more than one reference to epileptic children. In [illegible] Babylonian letter speaks of the Hand of the God testing [illegible] a Neo-Assyrian letter speaks of a baby affected by an *ubbu*. [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] forecast that a lunar eclipse at the moment of conception means that a child [illegible] birth the baby will be seized by incubus or Hand of the God. We already have seen that these afflictions are forms of epilepsy or closely related to it. In the chapter on babies in the diagnostic handbook attention is [illegible] the epileptics. It is possible that one of the lost chapters in the section "Epileptics" in the first book specifically dealt with children (Tablet XXIX).

The therapeutic texts have separate sections for children; one is published in tablet [illegible] the British Museum as [illegible] before. They are [illegible] and apotropaic. The pertinent sections in three of them, from Assyrian Sultantepe and from Seleucid Uruk, duplicate and have recently been presented in a textbook [illegible] by Walter Farber in his book on various ailments of babies, *Schlaf, Kindchen schlaf* (1989).[10] We will summarise the contents.

[illegible] with a tree to be petrified or a baby that has been seized by [illegible] special powers against epilepsy, *[illegible]*. The name *[illegible]* made [illegible] are the [illegible] a virgin [illegible] to be put [illegible] a magical

[1] [illegible]

[2] Hippocrates, ed. Littre [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]

[5] [illegible]

[6] [illegible]

[7] [illegible]

[8] [illegible]

[9] [illegible]

[10] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

and a bad record. [illegible] means that it has been proved that the seller was not the owner: the real owner claims the slave. [illegible] defects [illegible] *Sachmängel* [illegible] can be physical and mental defects (*morbus*, resp. *vitium*), temporary or permanent. What we loosely named a "bad record" implies that the slave has [illegible] *fugitivus*, that he is a roamer (*erro*), or that he has committed theft (*furtum*) [illegible] The seller of the slave ought to know all [illegible] responsible.

The [illegible] defects are [illegible] epilepsy [illegible] Ro[illegible] temporary madness [illegible] Digest [illegible] *lunaticus* [illegible] epilepsy [illegible] Roman [illegible] madness [illegible] possessed [illegible] One [illegible] Referring to [illegible] Roman and Greek law [illegible] epilepsy [illegible] defects [illegible] *delatum* [illegible] epilepsy [illegible] We will see below [illegible] tracts on Greek papyri are equally specific on the diseases in mentioning "the sacred disease" [illegible] Greek [illegible] following *anawog*.

But before going into this we will start [illegible] section 278 of the Old Babylonian Hammurabi Code (CH), dating [illegible] B.C.

1 In the Hammurabi Code

§ 278 of CH reads as follows:

> If [illegible] before [illegible] month has passed [illegible] falls upon him, he [illegible] the buyer [illegible] the slave [illegible] the buyer will take the silver he has paid.

The wording of this article is not without a few problems. In the first place, the text literally says "and he does not complete *his* month". "His" is said of the slave and the possessive pronoun "his", "her" or "their" after [illegible] On [illegible] more persons [illegible]

[illegible]

current literature. Often the suffix *-ma* is misspelled as *-ma*. Notwithstanding this syntactical peculiarity, the best translation is "that very month", compare this line in an omen text: "If in the street of a city he waits for the sun to rise: he will perish that same night (Gilgameš [illegible]). Let us now proceed to the second problem: the word *bennum* is not written in the nominative, as one would expect, but as *be-en-nu*. The suffix *-um* stands only *behind* a vowel in omina of the spleen, in a similar sentence.[34] The grammarian W. von Soden explains this form as the absolute state of the substantive *bennu* and translates "[illegible] by the epileptic seizure".[35] It is very possible that the expression "[illegible] *be-en-nu*" [illegible] was used only when the same [illegible]. Finally, it is especially interesting that one month is before [illegible]. Does this mean that this disease is liable to "fall" upon [illegible] month?

About [illegible] years after Hammurabi's reign in Babylonian save sale contracts a new clause is supplied, most [illegible]:

> [illegible] *ul-tam* [illegible] *bennum* he will be responsible (lit. "stand") for [illegible] according to the regulation of the king.

[illegible] it is noteworthy that the one month for *bennu* is also stated in accordance with the Hammurabi Code. Next, the warranty for claims (*baqru*) is reflected by the following section of the Code, § 279: "If a man buys a male or female slave and before [illegible] his house or within two years [illegible] satisfy the claims. This refers [illegible] the goods [illegible] a bought slave is tested." Not the buyer but the seller is responsible.

The [illegible] three days to *[illegible]* (some texts have two days). Because of the problematic *bennu* many scholars have thought that other related sections [illegible] the disease of leprosy. An attempt to explain the word connects it with *be-en-nu* [illegible] the suggestion of Nachtorschung. According to this interpretation, [illegible] that among these three days [illegible] looks into the question whether the slave is [illegible]. However, the exception clause [illegible] takes care of

[illegible]

that legal defect. It has been especially interesting to discover that *šubat amat* as Nachforschung is illustrated by the well-known sections in the Code, § 280 ff. Translating and interpreting them is not easy. They deal with the problems arising when slaves bought abroad (free citizens or not) who are identified by their former master as his property.[10] What is important to us is the process set in motion an investigation of the quality and status of the slave had to cease. We believe that *šubat amat* presents exactly this investigation of legal status. Syria and Iraq in the Old Babylonian period were fragmented warring petty states. It was very possible to find suddenly a slave to face with in the slave-market of Babylon, abducted years ago and now for sale on the local market. Price in the relatively small community has three days since notice to establish such facts. So in the Old Babylonian period we have to do with a dispute between the king or State (*mandat amatim*) on the one side, a low citizen – be they free or not – and the seller. We add that Neo-Babylonian and Persian slave sales have the warranty that the slave has not the status of free citizen or is property of the king or some institution. In many respects *šubat amat* will remind us of *dokimasia* in the Greek world. To establish the origin or the parentage of a slave when he is sold in Egypt in the first century of them were imported slaves.

The interpretation suggested here brings the contract in line with the contracts nearly in the wording § 279–280 of Code and strongly suggests that the regulation of the King (*mandat amatim*) was not only a free-standing case, a special process, but it also has not so far work *šubat amat* and more important cases of general law. The Code world, by the decree giving these extra-legal rights, issued by later kings specifying Hammurabi's strange. The link between *šubat amat* and the attestation of the classes of citizens H. Klengel has shown that Hammurabi's successor Samsu-Iluna based his code on the principle of the classes of citizens of Ida-maras and Arriplia, new sort of extraordinary CH § 280 ff.[11]

Fortunately we know four cases of Sumerian contracts, which from a slave seller tracks for the goods to the rights from Ur III Mari. In distant Ur at now we find such a tablet to somewhat in great extent. Later we come across similar phrases in the Neo-Assyrian contracts. The contract, the rights stipulated for or the Hardship of the Good in a text from Nuzi, referred to earlier, is as back.[12]

2. In Neo-Assyrian contracts

In the Neo-Assyrian slave sale contracts, which can be considered as after Hammurabi, we read: *šibir-ši-ibbenim* – or (Medes *sarru*) – a slave, a slave. As in the Old Baby-

[10] Note [illegible] by D. Charpin [illegible]

[11] P. [illegible] *Die Ära Hammurabis* [illegible] M. A. Dandamayev, [illegible] *Babylonia* [illegible]

[12] See [illegible] J. Wolf, [illegible] *Die Ära Hammurabis*, *Zeitschrift* [illegible]

[13] [illegible]

[14] H. Klengel, [illegible] *OrNS* [illegible] F. R. Kraus, *Königliche Verfügungen in altbabylonischer Zeit* [illegible]

[15] [illegible]

[16] [illegible] see the bibliography.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

this illness is likely to strike. Practice may have taught them that the month was on short [illegible] to assert that epilepsy [illegible] established a new term [illegible] with another [illegible] cycle, that of the aftermath of epilepsy.

This is the only [illegible] present [illegible] we know, piece of evidence from ancient Greece [illegible] of the new moon. *Noumenia* was a feast day as well as a market day. Lucian's account [illegible]. Hence in Greek [illegible] the name *Noumenia* (Νουμηνία) was used [illegible] slaves. The Greeks had a lunar calendar [illegible] the new moon [illegible] beginning a new month. Was this the appropriate moment of buying slaves because [illegible] epilepsy was more likely to strike [illegible] other days? Greek [illegible] lends some support to the notion of a priori where we found New Moon after epilepsy [illegible].

The slave market was [illegible] worldwide exploitation horizons [illegible] has to agree about sale conditions. Those on the sale of slaves had to be accepted by [illegible] and were publicized at the market place in a Greek inscription from Abydos shows. This [illegible] not surprise us [illegible] very similar sale contracts [illegible] in widely different countries, below we will notice this in the Greek papyri compared with the Babylonian and Assyrian evidence. Having [illegible] slave market on the last day of the month might have been one of those internal and [illegible] inspired by certain speculations on the origin of epilepsy as held by at least some physicians. In [illegible] evidence that the 45 day period of warranty against [illegible] the Nuzian contract [illegible] began on the last day of the month [illegible]. There is however no pattern visible in the days on which New Assyrian slave contracts were drawn up according to their dates. [illegible] was back to [illegible].

[illegible] Greek [illegible]

Returning to the Greek papyri from Egypt we notice that the Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian slave contracts from Mesopotamia remain silent on latent defects. [illegible] contract of the Assyrian Sargonid [illegible] warranty against flight [illegible] days. More important in these contracts is the bonded

[illegible]

[illegible] of the slave. In an Aramaic contract from Samaria (335 B.C.) [illegible] Syriac from Dura-Europos (243 A.D.) the Sacred Disease is also [illegible].

The earliest Greek contracts from Egypt have [illegible] defects. But in the time of Augustus there appears a standard formula [illegible] the slave is without the Sacred Disease and *epaphe*. [illegible] A.D.) has an unusual [illegible] giving [illegible] six months [illegible] the Sacred Disease [illegible] and [illegible] twelve months for running away [illegible].

The Greek expression "Sacred Disease" [illegible] for epilepsy [illegible]. Among the ancient Egyptians epilepsy was [illegible] known under the name [illegible] a disease brought about by a power [illegible] the body. This power [illegible] the parts of the [illegible] the body [illegible] the power [illegible] male or female. [illegible] patient with the [illegible] recommended by Dioscorides [illegible]. The internal use [illegible] was presumably supposed [illegible].

The slave [illegible] *epaphe*. [illegible] meaning of this word [illegible] Greek or Roman law. The word [illegible] derived from [illegible] *epaphomai* [illegible] the basic meaning of which [illegible] New Assyrian [illegible] *ahazu* "to seize" [illegible] a better [illegible] and the verb [illegible]. This [illegible] ments. Another [illegible] disease. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

In marriage

Late Rabbinic sources also play a role in marriage law. The evidence given here mainly applies to a Gentile Hassidah, the woman who has been taken as a wife out of war. In this respect the legislation of a wife can be compared with the patriarchal system and this throws some light on the way they viewed the gentile sex. A wife has to be good in every sense of the word, fertility. A survey of some of the other legal matters shows sufficient to give an idea of the impression even though the selection is arbitrary.

Looking at the Rabbinical sources first we see that the Mishnah Tractate *Ketubbot* discusses defects in a bride, other than a married woman (VII 7-8) and in the page (V 10). The editor adds that pregnancy is one of the other defects in a woman. The editor also adds a further criterion: his reference remains rather because the wife is every time on which law which is wrong to happen. Naturally everybody knows that girls have their ups and downs. The general advice is: everything is wrong that is a family of epilepsy or leprosy. Yet [illegible]

The Byzantine legal compilation *Ecloga* of 741 A.D. speaks of epilepsy and possession [illegible] leprosy, *lepra* is one of the few valid reasons of divorce both for women and men. Being possessed by a demon is the ground for [illegible] divorce. In the next article it is written to Scripture: "What God has joined together let no man put asunder" (Matthew 19:6). One reads between the lines that a woman [illegible] but leprosy and mental illness [illegible] possession [illegible] the [illegible] epilepsy as the two physical defects allowing divorce [illegible] the same criteria as [illegible]

The Arabic version of the *Ecloga* written in the fourteenth century, [illegible] used in the Coptic Church, is more strict. It excluding epilepsy is a good reason for divorce.

The Syriac version [illegible] a case [illegible] woman appears to be mentally ill. *Certain rabbis* [illegible] possessed by a evil spirit. Deuteronomy *Rabba* 1 [illegible] was forbidden to marry such people [illegible] where she is [illegible] husband. Your [illegible] be married after the [illegible] divorced, provided [illegible] have [illegible] born.[illegible] These rules are lacking in the *Ecloga* and have been made by the [illegible] Source of the Syriac Law Book [illegible] Epilepsy [illegible] a woman possessed by a demon [illegible] exception [illegible] what has to happen with the [illegible] legislation for divorce.

Reverting to the Code of the Sumerians and Babylonians we discover that some offences in their law books [illegible] to the problem of marriage. Women could [illegible] terrible disease. [illegible] mentalness, concerning by the woman. The problem [illegible] was what to do with the accused woman after the husband has taken a second wife. The law books seek a reasonable and humane solution for the first wife. What [illegible] is here is the identity of these diseases making a happy mar-

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

riage impossible. The Eshnunna Code says that the wife "has changed her appearance or has become physically disabled" (§ 28)[illegible] the Hammurabi Code that *a bitu* has "seized" her (§ 148). This word often is translated as "fever"[illegible]. Two litigations in court make use of the term for such situations. The first, in the Sumerian, concerns a married woman "hit by the demon *asakku*" (a kind of epilepsy). The second, in Old Babylonian Akkadian, is more interesting[illegible]. A widow, together with her seven sisters, the house of a man who marries him. Then, the "attacked by the god" (*ilas kasadam*) her and they go to see the judges who say only "rest". The seven are not right to marry from the house of their mother's second husband. The "attacked by the god" (*ilas kasadam*) is unique. Without new evidence we cannot say what it stands for; the expression has been compared with "touch of the god" (*tapriku*), an epidemic disease. We have the question: did the widow's other [illegible] "latent defects" that concern the later law books so much, and did she conceal this when remarrying? The word expresses the divorce procedure, [illegible]. An epilepsy would be a very good candidate.

Testing

In the same case, it says that "check the sister's health by a physical inspection". [illegible] Other Rituals of Exorcists were a handbook of the profession, known to scribes, [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] physiognomy. Many handbooks of this kind, specialized [illegible], were known in the medieval Arab world but an available summary of their contents remains [illegible] epilepsy.

Greek medicine was extensively used in Antiquity and later. Hippocrates brought [illegible] compact bones [illegible] brow [illegible] receiving [illegible] points. It is used in making bows, buttress, the pelvis, [illegible] and has the property of attracting light bodies when electrified by rubbing — thus the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The Greeks and Romans named it *gagates*. Burning storax, frankincense, [illegible] jet [illegible] provoke epileptic seizures. [illegible] the smelling [illegible] the black jet will burn [illegible] on the ground — wrote Aristotle. The number of references is redundant in the harness, jet always are the most

[illegible] Following M. Civil, *Ur* [illegible] *Nippur II Lamentations Texts*.

[illegible] *Babylonian* [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Note that [illegible] Roman [illegible]

[illegible] *Bit* [illegible] *Old Babylonian Marriage* [illegible] discussion.

[illegible] *Medicine in Babylonia* [illegible]

[illegible] Hans [illegible] *Die Kultur* [illegible] *Bureaucrat* [illegible]

[illegible] *Incense* [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

adds that an angel of Satan "slaps" him (2 Corinthians 12:7). It is often thought that he is referring to epilepsy and Paul's sudden conversion on the road to Damascus is explained as a seizure.[115] Now, Paul writes in his letter to the Galatians, "You did me no wrong; you know it was because of a bodily ailment that I preached the gospel to you at first; and though my condition was a trial to you, you did not scorn or despise me ..." (4:12–14). For "despise" the text offers literally "to spit out" (*ekptuō*) which reminds us of spitting at epileptics.[116] We admit that the prefix *ek-* does not, if we intuit this ancient habit. The disgust with which an epileptic was looked down upon may to some extent explain the apostle's low self-esteem, sometimes looking upon himself as the worst sinner. In the passage just quoted, literally it reads something like "lowest as being nothing (*ouden*)." Elsewhere, Paul is reproached for "madness," one of epilepsy's sisters (Acts 26:24).

Persons suffering from epilepsy were not admitted to sacred offices at priests. Some scholars assume that the categories of persons "possessed" and "bewitched" were forbidden access to the festival of the gods. Khosroviev in the Egyptian cult Lampsis resided, comprised those who fall within the sphere of "crises of demented and epileptics." This prescription was meant for those living outside the temple, seeking to cure or alleviate their ailments. The Egyptians were always aware of the danger of ritual pollution of a temple by strange outsiders.

The Babylonian cuneiforms give short-sighted bodily defects prevent one person from becoming a priest, if they are too prominent, they are obstacles to the fulfilment of priestly among them. The Mesopotamian abbreviation of the blemishes making one unfit for being a priest according to Leviticus 21:16–18 checks the body going from head to foot. After chest and belly and before the genitals we find as impediment: "Eyes suffering from falling sickness." [illegible] *nakpet* [illegible] *ʿayn* [illegible] from [illegible] (Babylonian V–S). Did the Rabbinic authorities think of epilepsy as origin in the gastric region? Is *nāʾūh ʿaf sarit* a concomitant illness?

The Christian church considered epileptics to be possessed by a demon and, for that reason, unfit for the holy communion or priesthood. The reviver is contagious, so future was feared. The Byzantines shunned them as much as lepers and gave leprosy

[illegible] Wolf [illegible] Kaiserzeit [illegible] Pauly [illegible] Suppl. [illegible]

[illegible] Oder Beschreibung [illegible] Neuen Testament [illegible] Aus Sprüche [illegible]

[illegible] Die Magnesia [illegible] Damascus [illegible] Lassen [illegible]

[illegible] S. Sauneron, Les prêtres [illegible] Bulletin de [illegible] 5 following [illegible]

[illegible] Zimmerman *BHR* [illegible] with R. Labat, *Les religions du Proche Orient asiatique* (1970) 276; R. Borger *BHHW* [illegible] 1965 and [illegible] 1969 ad [illegible]. The Greek Gnomon of the Idios Logos from Egypt also [illegible] tary [illegible] 8 [illegible]

[illegible] See [illegible] the Babylonian Talmud, Bekhorot 44a: [illegible] "Mouse [illegible] epileptic [illegible] "[illegible] down)?" see Jacob Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* II [illegible]

[illegible] J. Jeiger, Der Ausschluss der Behinderten [illegible] Kultus und [illegible] Gottesdienstordnung [illegible] *Amsterdamer* [illegible] Marcel *RHC* 9 (1976) 28.

the name "sacred disease" perhaps because they saw an analogy between the two.

Turning now to the Babylonian world we have to admit that we know next to nothing about how they viewed and treated their fellow man suffering from the falling sickness. It may be indicative that they wished their enemies "a *miqtu* that does not go away and watches." "May the demons visit you, may the spirits of the dead turn to you, may a bad *hemmu* fall upon you, may the Provider of Evil stand ready for you [illegible]." "May *hemmu* confusion and trembling throw her down [illegible]." A fragmentary magico-ritual discussed earlier stresses that the clothes should be taken off and whoever "takes" them (again) will contract an evil sub-ba. A fear of miasma or contagion may be seen in this.[illegible]

The birth of an epileptic child portended ill to his family in Babylonia. In standard terminology "the house of his father will be disrupted" (*bit abiši issuppah*). The first entry of Labasi XXIX says that this will happen "by the feet" of a baby born with "Lord of the Roof" that same is said elsewhere on a baby having *miqtu*.[97] A patient suffering from "Spawn of Sulpaea" (meaning epileptic, as we have seen) is to be killed; he means disaster to his family.[98] At this stage with the harsh attitude of the Babylonians towards the handicapped, the lame, the deaf, the blind, the dumb.[99] That their existence is harmful to the family is clear from this omen: "If an idiot (*šilu la šemi*) is born in the house of a man, that house will be disrupted."[100] "That house (land) will be disrupted" as we know in recent in omen literature is rarely a cause for hearing more texts. There are omens pertaining to symptoms that were seemingly unacceptable. "Spawn of Sulpaea" is one example. "A thick lipped person with an ever changing face, dark like a dead body, but still carrying. I am royal" will "clear" his house will be disrupted, "the house of a person deaf on both sides, too."

At the end of the presentation of this material showing how despised an epileptic was it will have struck upon us why we find epilepsy and "leprosy" so often paired in the ancient texts. Both illnesses evoked uncanny feelings of disgust, a disgust mixed with awe, and this may explain the qualification "sacred" (*šuqulu*), a word which has many shades of meaning in Greek. Sawtre points at a superstitious fear of both diseases and it also conveys the *tremendum* that overcame the Greek when confronted with a sufferer. It has been shown that in later times "sacred" was used for a number of frightening afflictions as a God-sent. One may compare the Babylonian qualification "foregoing, away"

Note, however, the "spiritual" explanation by A. Philipsborn, *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 227. He discovers in the adjective "sacred" a positive meaning which only applies to leprosy: "das unheilbare Leiden [leprosy] galt jetzt als eine von Gott auferlegte Prüfung, der Dulder als gottlicher Gnade teilhaftig und besonders [illegible]" [illegible]

K. Wa[illegible] *Babylonian Medicine* [illegible] 15.

Sagga II [illegible] 4.

[illegible] 41.

[illegible] *Ut* [illegible] 7 and 45 with Wasserman [illegible] 45. See p. 10.

See Chapter [illegible] note [illegible] Table XX [illegible] p. 54.

[illegible] 4. See also p. 5 and 8.

F. Cassirer [illegible] in his *Le semblable et le différent* (1987) 72, 97 esp. 8[illegible]–88.

W. von Soden, *ZA* [illegible] 1[illegible] [illegible]

TLB [illegible] and [illegible]. See also [illegible] 14 [illegible] read [illegible] in B/R [illegible] 22, 23, 23[illegible] [illegible]

Sticker 1963.

with Greek "sacred" it is only used for epilepsy (*bennu* and *miqlu*) and "leprosy" indicating that these two diseases can be incurable and suggesting that a divine will is behind them.

Thinking in more sophisticated terms, one might say that epilepsy and leprosy (or any other severe skin disease) can be considered as internal and external manifestations of the same affliction. Then it is logical that the same plants were used against both: the hellebore by the Greeks, the *uhulu* by the Babylonians. The Greeks saw as their common natural cause the black bile.

[illegible] Once and [illegible] immunity a generic word for a disease with symptoms immediately visible like any skin disease.

XI EPILEPSY AND ANIMALS

Animals can suffer from epilepsy. Greek and Roman books on the care of asses and horses, like the hippiatrical texts, discuss this illness and its treatment. They speak of cramps (*sphakelismos*) and "Sacred Disease." It has been said that the prescriptions were taken over from those used in human medicine. In Apuleius's book, "The Golden Ass," the weakened ass is *collapsus* by a "desperable disease," apparently epilepsy.

Epilepsy has a special relationship with the goat. Hippocrates, in the Greek and Roman world, by chance to some extent, is that of the disease, and is also reported about people in the Malayan archipelago. Plutarch may already have given the correct reason for this connection, that the "[illegible] of the attack can be very much like the voice of a goat." We will now present some of the evidence from the ancient world.

Hippocrates wrote in the [illegible] particularly susceptible to this disease. Elsewhere in the present part, his last [illegible] superstitions about the symptoms of the Sacred Disease states: "[illegible] acts like a goat, and if he roars, or has convulsions involving the right side, he is [illegible] the Mother of the Gods is responsible." The goat is the animal of this goddess. The Romans thought that eating goat meat caused the illness of epilepsy, and the priest *flamen Dialis* was [illegible] to eat it. Hippocrates, [illegible] of his [illegible] says that the Greeks had the same food taboo, moreover, [illegible] goat skin [illegible] and the wearing goat skins were prescribed as a remedy against the disease. In [illegible] that epilepsy could be [illegible] a person with the [illegible] goat. The Greek poet Callimachus gave the [illegible] description of a girl: "But in the afternoon, [illegible] paleness seized her, [illegible] disease which we send away to the wild goats, falsely called Sacred." According to the [illegible] Hesychius, "to the wild goats" was a proverbial expression especially used for the Sacred Disease, as the place were the diseases have to go. The epileptic priest Demetrius was dressed by the Pythagoreans of Delphi to take with [illegible] of the [illegible] of a goat and wrap them in wool. Presumably they came from the brain.[19] Already Hippocrates observed that the brain of an epileptic [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

of fluid and foul-smelling, convincing proof that disease and not the deity is harming the body.[11]

A Sumerian text sums up a number of diseases that sheep and goat can contract. Its editor identified one of them, *dug-ri-ga*, as epilepsy.[12] The Babylonian diagnostic text translated in Chapter V compares the initial cry (?) with a variety of animal voices: that of a dog, an ass, an ox, a dove. In a therapeutic text giving the symptoms of Hand of *Bennu*, demon-deputy of Sin, appears: "he shouts like a goat."[13] We have already seen that a slaughtered he-goat played an important role in a lunar-eclipse ritual against epilepsy.[14] Hemerologies prohibit the consumption of goat meat on certain days but do not give epilepsy as the disease following eating this; it is migraine.[15] A horoscope forecasts that a child born under the zodiacal sign "Goat-Fish" will be seized by *bennu*, incubus, migraine. The name "Goat-Fish" (SUH.ḪUR.MAS.KU$_6$) or Capricornus (*capra* = goat) looks promising but probably is not: the Babylonians had the unexpurgated name "Goat" for the constellation Lyra, which has nothing to do with epilepsy. Elsewhere we find that the demons "Lurker" and "Oath" have the face of a goat.[16]

[11] *RLA* V, 387 [illegible]
[12] S. N. Kramer, *JCS* [illegible] 45 [illegible] see also p. 48.
[13] *AfO* [illegible] see Chapter V.
[14] *BiMes* 3, [illegible] see p. [illegible]
[15] *TCL* [illegible] p. [illegible]
[16] R. [illegible] *HMA* [illegible] (for use of migraine) [illegible] 46, day 5 [illegible] the same; [illegible] 8th day; 8 [illegible] the same.
[17] *LBeL* [illegible] rev. 4; see p. [illegible]
[18] *SpbTU* [illegible]

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[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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